

Wm. Paley



Engraved by Paley from an Original Painted by Remondini

William Paley D.D.

ARCHDEACON OF CARLISLE.

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MEMOIRS

OF

WILLIAM PALEY, D.D.

BY

G. W. MEADLEY.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN APPENDIX.

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PREFACE.

WHEN Dr. Paley's character as a man and services as a writer are considered, it is somewhat singular that no account of him, beyond the passing tribute of an obituary, and an article in the *General Biography*,* has hitherto appeared. After a lapse of three years, nothing more ample has even been promised to the public. This surely is not well. The *Memoirs* now offered, to supply, in some degree, so strange a neglect, or at least to provoke the exertions of some abler pen, are in the compiler's own estimation very far from complete. The acknowledged talents of some of Dr. Paley's earlier and more intimate friends, from whom an authentic detail of his life might most naturally be expected, ought perhaps to have deterred from the attempt

one who knew him only in his later years. But a persuasion, that the whole of any eminent character can never be duly appreciated, except from the views of different observers, on the one hand, and, on the other, an anxious wish to bear testimony to the merits of a much respected pastor, and to perpetuate his memory amongst his last parishioners more especially, have produced the present publication.

No pains have been spared to procure accurate intelligence from the most respectable quarters, though several enquiries have been made without success. To those gentlemen who have assisted him with information of dates or facts, the writer acknowledges himself highly obliged, and trusts that what is recorded in the following pages will be found substantially correct. For many particulars, he is exclusively responsible himself, having cultivated Dr. Paley's acquaintance, from the period of his coming to Bishop-Wearmouth, with no common interest and attention.

It often happens, that the cast of an author's sentiments may be traced to something peculiar in the habits or situation of the man. It is often lamented, that the man should be very unlike the author. But in the case of Dr. Paley, the author is only a more grave and dignified exhibition of the man himself: and those who knew him personally, enjoy much more vividly, on that very account, every quaintness of phrase and every shrewdness of remark that occurs in his writings. His biography therefore should by no means be composed on too solemn and sombre a plan. For unless his originality and humour in common life be brought forward, there is no clue to discover the sources of that strong home touch of his pen, that practicality and tact in his reasoning, in which he has very rarely been excelled. Hence the lighter anecdotes related in these *Memoirs* became necessary to a just delineation of his character, though their undue intrusion has been avoided, as they form the relief rather than the groundwork of the design.

The writer is happy in being able to introduce some sketches of Dr. Paley's more serious conversation, and of his judgment on the transactions or questions of the day; and the sentiments of such a man, on the great points of public discussion, can hardly be read with indifference. In considering certain arguments advanced by Dr. Paley, to which the writer cannot assent, he has stated his own opinions without reserve: but he has never attributed, either the conduct or the reasoning of so candid an enquirer, to unworthy motives, from a conviction that a liberal *utility*, the criterion of his moral theory, was at the same time his practical rule in life. In many doubtful cases, men equally well intentioned may and will differ: yet no dispassionate person will hastily impeach the integrity of another's mind, who is conscious of the purity of his own.

It is hoped that a more copious detail of Dr. Paley's life may hereafter be presented to the world, that no circumstance of any moment regarding such

a man may be lost. But if after all no abler pen shall undertake the task, and a re-publication of these imperfect *Memoirs* be ever called for, it shall be the earnest endeavour of the writer to supply every deficiency, which is already felt, or which may hereafter be pointed out to him.

The annexed Letter, on Dr. Paley's early character and performances, is the contribution of a learned and estimable friend, to whose kindness the present work is indebted for much correction and improvement.

In the Appendix will be found some of Dr. Paley's minor productions, which, though not absolutely new to the public, are comparatively little known. It was, however, almost entirely printed off, before the late collective republication of his *Sermons and Tracts* appeared from a London press.

Bishop Wearmouth,
January 1st 1809.

MEMOIRS
OF
WILLIAM PALEY, D. D.

WILLIAM PALEY, D. D. was born at Peterborough in July, and baptized, as appears from the register of the cathedral, August 30th 1743. He was descended from an old and respectable family in Craven, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where his great-grandfather John, and his grandfather Thomas Paley, successively resided on a small patrimonial estate at Langcliffe, in the parish of Giggleswick,* which having since descended to his uncle George, and his cousin Thomas Paley, is still in the possession of the family.

His father, William Paley, a younger son, after a preliminary education under Mr. Carr, head master of the free grammar-school at Gig-

* Whitaker's History of Craven, p. 129, 133.

gleswick,* was admitted a sizar at Christ's college, Cambridge, January 31st 1729-30, in the nineteenth year of his age, and proceeded bachelor of arts 1733-4. He was instituted, August 14th 1735, to the vicarage of Helpstone, in Northamptonshire, worth exactly thirty-five pounds a year. He afterwards fixed his residence at Peterborough, which is about seven miles distant from Helpstone, on being appointed a minor canon of the cathedral church. He married, July 10th 1742, Elizabeth Clapham, of Stackhouse, in the parish of Giggleswick, a woman of a strong and active mind. The subject of these memoirs was their eldest child, and they had afterwards three daughters. Mr. Paley was a sensible, worthy man, of a mild and benevolent disposition; and is stated to have been a very good classical scholar. In 1745, during the infancy of his son, being appointed head master of Giggleswick school, he resigned his minor-canonry, and removed to that place.

* This school was founded by King Edward VI. in the seventh year of his reign, at the instance of his chaplain, John Nowel, vicar of Giggleswick, and the government vested in seven trustees. —Whitaker's Craven, p. 128.

Young Paley therefore, as he grew up, was educated under his father's eye. "The dawn of youth is indeed an æra in the history of every man's mind and character, which is only to be omitted by the biographer, when particulars are not to be obtained;* more especially when, as in the present instance, the progress of a superior mind towards maturity deserves to be distinctly traced. At school he soon surpassed his early class-fellows, by the exercise of greater abilities united to a more studious disposition than usually belongs to boys of that age; and, by successive promotions from one class to another, at length obtained pre-eminence over all. He did not, however, at this time distinguish himself by any sort of compositions, even as school exercises, but was considered a very fair, though by no means an accomplished classical scholar. He was even then more attentive to things than to words, and ardent in the pursuit of knowledge of every kind. He was curious in making enquiries about mechanism, whenever he had an opportunity of conversing with any workmen,

* Cumberland's Memoirs, 2d ed. vol. I. p. 42.

or others capable of affording him satisfactory information. In his *mind* he was uncommonly active; in his *body* quite the reverse. He was a bad horseman, and incapable of those exertions which required adroitness in the use of his hands or feet. He consequently never engaged in the ordinary sports of schoolboys; but he was fond of angling, an amusement in which he did not then excel, though his attachment to it seems to have continued through life. He was much esteemed by his school-fellows, as possessing many good qualities, and being at all times a pleasant and lively companion. He frequently amused the young circle by the successful mimicking of a mountebank quack-doctor, in vending his powders. Having one year attended the assizes at Lancaster, he was so much taken with the proceedings in the criminal court, that on his return to school, he used to preside there as a judge, and to have the other boys brought up before him as prisoners for trial. This circumstance, trifling as it may appear to the superficial observer, is not unimportant, as it marks the period of his earliest attention to the practice of courts of justice, and to criminal law.

Soon after he had completed his fifteenth year, young Paley accompanied his father to Cambridge for the purpose of admission, and was admitted, November 16th 1758, a sizar of Christ's college; a college otherwise highly respectable from the members who had done it honor, but sufficiently immortalized by the illustrious name of Milton alone. He performed this journey on horseback, and used often thus humorously to describe the disasters which befel him on the road:—"I was never a good horseman, and when I followed my father on a poney of my own, on my first journey to Cambridge, I fell off seven times:—I was lighter then than I am now, and my falls were not likely to be serious:—My father, on hearing a thump, would turn his head half aside and say, 'Take care of thy money, lad!'"

Soon after his return to Craven, as the classics alone were taught at Giggleswick school, he went for mathematical instruction to Mr. William Howarth, a teacher of some eminence at Dishforth, near Topcliffe; about three miles from

Ripon, under whose care he laid an excellent foundation of knowledge in algebra and geometry. During his residence at this place, the attention of the whole neighbourhood was taken up by the discovery of a human skeleton at Knaresborough, which accidentally led to unfold the circumstances of a murder, committed there fourteen years before. Stimulated by curiosity, he attended the county assizes at York, and was present in the court, August 3d 1759, when Eugene Aram, a man of extraordinary learning and acuteness, was tried for the murder of Daniel Clark, and convicted on the evidence of Richard Houseman, an accomplice, and of his own wife. The evidence brought forward on this occasion, and the ingenious defence of the prisoner,* seem to have made a forcible impression on young Paley's mind. When he returned home a few weeks after this, before his departure to college, he entertained and astonished all around him, by his spirited harangues and judicious remarks on this important trial. Even then, young as he was, he paid particular attention to

* See Kippis's *Biographia Britannica*, vol. I. p. 232.

cases of law, and in speaking of them was singularly fluent and nervous in his language. He seems, indeed, to have attributed the conviction of the prisoner in a great measure to the ingenuity of his defence; for many years after, when he was conversing with a few friends about the lives of some obscure and undeserving persons having been inserted in the *Biographia Britannica*, and one of the party exclaimed—"Eugène Aram, for instance!" "Nay," replied he, "a man that has been hanged has some pretension to notoriety, and especially a man who has got himself hanged by his own cleverness, which Eugène Aram certainly did."

In October 1759, he became a resident member of Christ's college, and on the first evening after his departure for Cambridge, his father observed to a pupil who was then his only boarder, "My son is now gone to college,—he'll turn out a great man,—very great indeed,—I'm certain of it; for he has by far the clearest head I ever met with in my life." When he commenced his residence in the university, he was little more than sixteen; an age which he frequently men-

tioned afterwards as too early to encounter the dangers of a college life. But he always had an old look, which, together with the superior strength and vigor of his understanding, impressed his companions with the idea of a much maturer age.

On the 5th of December he was appointed to one of the scholarships founded by Mr. Carr, and appropriated to students from Giggleswick school. On the following day he was elected a scholar on the foundation of his college, and appointed to the exhibition founded by Sir Walter Mildmay. And in addition to these emoluments, he was elected, May 26th 1761, to the scholarship founded by Mr. Buntry, one of the college tenants.

Dr. Thomas, dean of Ely, was at that time master of Christ's college; Mr. Shepherd and Mr. Backhouse were the tutors. Mr. Shepherd, who gave lectures in algebra, geometry, and the different branches of natural philosophy, being soon convinced of Mr. Paley's superior attainments, (for he came to college a

better mathematician than many are when they leave it,) excused him from attending his college lectures with students of his own year; but required his attendance at those public lectures which he afterwards gave as Plumian professor; and occasionally proposed mathematical questions for his solution. Mr. Paley, during this time, regularly attended Mr. Backhouse's lectures in logic and metaphysics.

Being thus left so much to himself, he applied however most assiduously to those studies required by the university; in the pursuit of which he had frequent opportunity to show the concentration of mind which he possessed in an extraordinary degree. His room, (for he seldom locked his door either by night or day,) used to be the common rendezvous of the idle young men of his college; yet, notwithstanding all their noise and nonsense, he might be often seen in one corner, as composed and attentive to what he was reading, as if he had been alone. But as, besides the interruption which such loungers must at times have given him, he was remark-

able for indulging himself in bed till a very late hour in the morning, and for being much in company after dinner, at tea, and at a coffee-house at nine o'clock in the evening, it is probable that he was more indebted to observation and reflection than to books for the general improvement of his mind.

On his first arrival from the country, the uncouthness of his dress and manners caused not a little mirth amongst his fellow-collegians; but as the superiority of his genius and his real worth were soon discovered, these singularities did not long deprive him of their esteem and admiration. Besides, he was a most excellent companion, and had the happiest knack of turning the laugh against himself, by relating some absurd and ridiculous blunder which he had committed; and his absence of mind and inattention to the common occurrences of life supplied him with many such stories. In his merry humours he could always find something to laugh at in himself; and, indeed, he was often heard to say that "A man who is not sometimes a fool, is always one:"

an observation which, however strange it may appear to some, is strictly in unison with a saying of the first earl of Shaftesbury, recorded by Mr. Locke.*

Mr. Paley's most intimate friend at this period, was Mr. Stoddart of his own college, now the respectable master of the endowed school at Ashford in Kent, to whose obliging communications the writer is indebted for many circumstances stated in these Memoirs. "I feel myself much interested," he observes in his correspondence on the subject, "in the event of your intended publication; I have told you all that I can recollect, and it would give me real and sincere pleasure, were it in my power to furnish you with more

* Lord Shaftesbury was wont to say, "that there were in every one, two men, the wise and the foolish, and that each of them must be allowed his turn. If you would have the wise, the grave, and the serious, always to rule and have the sway, the fool would grow so peevish and troublesome, that he would put the wise man out of order, and make him fit for nothing: he must have his times of being let loose to follow his fancies, and to play his gambols, if you would have your business go on smoothly."—Locke's Works, 8vo. 10th ed. vol. IX. p. 272.

ample and important materials for the history of a man whom I always highly esteemed and regarded. My acquaintance with him commenced soon after he first came to college, and indeed during the whole time that we were under-graduates, we generally spent our evenings together, except when we were engaged in other company. We often supped at a coffee-house in Trumpington-street, kept by one Dockeral, a house of character, and frequented more by fellows and masters of arts than by under-graduates. I had, therefore, the best opportunity of knowing the goodness of his heart, at a time of life when the heart is least disguised. Afterwards, though I saw him only occasionally, for the last time at Carlisle in the summer of the year 1790, he gave me many proofs of his regard; which continued, I believe, without diminution, till death deprived me of a much to be lamented friend, and the world of a most useful and valuable member of society."

"The late Mr. Unwin, of Stock," the correspondent of the poet Cowper, "was at college

with us, and was our most intimate friend. He was a most worthy man, and a very good classical scholar; for he gained one of the chancellor's gold medals in 1764, and the first bachelor's prize in 1766. He had a very high opinion of Paley's superior judgment, used to consult him on every occasion, and, in fact, to unbosom every thought and design to his friendly inspection. He afterwards frequently wrote to him to remove his own doubts and scruples, as well with respect to matters of religion as to the affairs of this world. Paley's letters to him must be interesting, and I shall be sincerely glad if this information enable you to recover any of them.* In his younger days, he was very averse to writing letters. I have often paid a penny a line for his correspondence, relating chiefly to college business, and once a penny a word. He used to say in his jocular manner, that "letters to friends answered no other purpose than to shew a man's wit, or to express the

* The writer was sorry to find, upon enquiring after this interesting correspondence, that only two of Mr. Paley's letters, equally short and unimportant, had been preserved.

sincerity of his friendship. My friends," added he, "are well convinced that I possess both." To those who knew him well his memory will be ever dear. The world, indeed, may admire his superior genius, his clear, vigorous, and comprehensive mind; but his private friends alone can appreciate the virtues of his heart: for he most certainly was what his first patron, old bishop Law, often said of him, a good man and a good Christian."

These extracts clearly show the high estimation in which Mr. Paley was held by his associates, and particularly by Mr. Stoddart, whom he always emphatically spoke of, as "one of his oldest and best friends." To have been distinguished by the confidence of such a man as Mr. Paley at this early period, is no small honor; but it is a still greater to have preserved that friendship unimpaired through life. The testimony of one so honored is, at all times, important to a biographer, and, in the present instance, is conveyed in a language evidently flowing from the heart, which it would have been an injustice

to have mutilated, and which cannot fail to interest.

Mr. Hall, now vicar of Grantham, another college friend of Mr. Paley's, to whose communications the present writer is also much indebted, confirms the preceding eulogy, and dwells with equal approbation on his merit and the esteem which he universally obtained. "I am very willing," he observes, "to contribute all I can to the memory of the best and ablest man, in my judgment, whom I ever saw, heard, or read of; since I never knew him guilty of a vicious act, nor inattentive to propriety of moral conduct. An intimacy subsisted between us from a few weeks previous to his going to Cambridge, when I was at Giggleswick school, and boarded with his father. I was afterwards at Christ's college with him; one year his junior in the university, though two years his senior in age. Of his life, whilst an under-graduate, Mr. Stoddart is able to give you the best account. Mr. Unwin was of my year, a very respectable man, and an intimate friend of Paley's. Indeed,

no man was held in more general esteem than Paley: he was always cheerful, and the life of every company he came into. Being so much in company, it was wonderful how he could find sufficient time for reading: and yet he never failed to distinguish himself on all occasions. It is difficult to say in what studies he most excelled after he became a graduate. His knowledge was general; nothing escaped his notice; and he seemed conversant in every branch of science, and in every sort of information; so clear was his head, and so retentive his memory."

Mr. Wilson, fellow of Peterhouse,* was at this time one of the most eminent private tutors in the university, though he had already become a member of the honorable society of the Inner Temple, with an intention of being called to the bar. He was distinguished for his mathematical knowledge, and used always to explain his

* Afterwards Sir John Wilson, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. He was senior wrangler in 1761; and even whilst an under-graduate, had successfully defended a small mathematical publication of Dr. Waring's, against an attack from Dr. Powell.

problems, however various his modes of demonstration, without the assistance of a book. His lectures were attended by several students from different colleges, as preparatory to their disputations in the public schools, and their examination for a bachelor's degree;* in which pure mathematics and the branches of natural philosophy are principally required. Mr. Paley was fortunate in the assistance of this able instructor, during his third year, and the united efforts of such a tutor and such a pupil were naturally crowned with success. The mathematics indeed formed an admirable exercise for the powers of Mr. Paley's mind, and in these studies, though he afterwards neglected them, might be laid the foundation of his fame. A firm and lasting friendship, equally honorable to both parties, was the result of this transient connection, though Mr. Wilson, soon after, on being called to the bar, left Cambridge, and directed his sole attention to the law.

Mr. Paley, being generally careless about his dress, and sometimes even remarkably inattentive

* For a short account of these academical exercises see Jebb's Works, vol. II. p. 284-299.

to it, attracted more than common notice, when he appeared in the public schools to keep his first *act*, with his hair full dressed, and in a deep ruffled shirt and new silk stockings; which aided by his gestures, his action, and his whole manner, when earnestly engaged in the debate, excited no small mirth in the spectators. This was his first appearance before the university as a disputant, and he acquitted himself with such unwonted ability, that the schools were afterwards invariably crowded, whenever he was expected to dispute.

On the 10th. of October 1762, Mr. Jebb, fellow of Peterhouse,* and Mr. Watson, fellow and tutor of Trinity college,† were invested with the office of moderators for the first time: an office, the duties of which, together or separately,

* This sincere and ardent friend of civil and religious liberty afterwards resigned his preferments in the church, from conscientious scruples, and turning his attention to medicine, graduated at St. Andrews, and practised successfully in London, for some years. An interesting memoir of his life, written *con amore*, has been presented to the public by Dr. Disney, the faithful and intelligent editor of his works.

† Now Bishop of Llandaff.

they afterwards repeatedly discharged with the highest celebrity. Soon after this appointment, Mr. Watson sent Mr. Paley an *act*. He was prepared with a mathematical question, and referring to *Johnson's Questiones Philosophicæ*, a book then common in the university, in which the subjects usually disputed upon in the schools, and the names of the authors who had written on each side, were contained, he fixed upon two others, as not having been proposed to his knowledge before: the one against *capital punishments*, the other against *the eternity of Hell torments*. As soon as it was rumoured amongst the heads of the university, that Mr. Paley, whose abilities were well known, had proposed such a question, the master of his college was desired to interfere and put a stop to it. Dr. Thomas consequently summoned him to the lodge, and objected, in strong terms to both his questions, but insisted upon his relinquishing the last. Mr. Paley immediately went to the moderator, and acquainted him with this peremptory command. Mr. Watson was indignant that "the heads of colleges should interfere in a matter, which belonged

solely," as he said, "to him ; for he was the judge of the propriety or impropriety of the questions sent to him." "Are you, Sir," continued he, "independent of your college ? if you are, these shall be the questions for your *act*." Mr. Paley told him that "he should be sorry to offend the college ; and therefore wished to change the last question." "Very well," replied the moderator, "the best way then to satisfy the scruples of these gentlemen, will be for you to defend the eternity of hell torments : " which, changing his thesis to the affirmative, he actually did.

Mr. Paley kept this *act* with uncommon credit. Mr. Frere of Caius college, a young gentleman of singular fame as a disputant, particularly on metaphysical or moral subjects, confident in his own abilities, and fluent in speaking latin, was his first opponent, and the strenuous exertions of such an adversary gave full scope to the display of his extraordinary talents. Indeed he always acquitted himself with great ability in his several disputations, either as a respondent or opponent,

and received the highest compliments from the different moderators under whom he kept.

Nor did Mr. Paley disappoint the general expectation of the university, when he took his degree of bachelor of arts, in January 1763, but was senior wrangler of the year. In the senate-house, as in the schools, Mr. Frere was his most formidable competitor, and gained the second honours. Mr. Paley was probably more indebted for the first, to the quickness and strength of his conceptions, and to a promptitude of delivery in which he always excelled, than to the superior extent of his mathematical acquirements.

The honorable degree which a young man takes in the university, is by no means a certain presage of future eminence : for while many who have highly distinguished themselves in the senate-house, have afterwards by their indolence frustrated all the flattering expectations which they had raised ; others, on the contrary, who stood low in the distribution of academical honors,

by unremitted application, or a later development of genius, have far outrun their contemporaries, in depth of learning and vigor of intellect. Yet, though such instances frequently occur, it is but common justice to say, that a majority of these graduates, who have in subsequent life distinguished themselves, will be found recorded amongst the higher names on the *tripos** of their year. But the mathematics, to which the general honors of this university are perhaps too much confined, do not afford an equal attraction to every student of superior talents, and Mr. Paley, eminently skilled as he now was in that province, afterwards maintained and extended his reputation, by successful labours of a very different kind.

Soon after taking his bachelor's degree, Mr. Paley was engaged, on the recommendation of Mr. Shepherd, as second assistant in a great academy at Greenwich, kept by Mr. Bracken, and chiefly resorted to by young men intended for

* The list of those who have obtained honors on commencing bachelors of arts is so called.

the army and navy, where his department of teaching was in the latin language. His classical were indeed far inferior to his mathematical attainments, but with his strong talents, it may be readily supposed, that, when daily employed in reading and teaching the best authors, he soon supplied any former deficiency. His leisure hours were frequently occupied in rambling about the metropolis, where a variety of new and interesting objects engaged his notice, and gave full scope of observation to his active mind.

On him nothing was lost, and, as he was equally ardent in the pursuit of knowledge or of recreation, his residence at Greenwich, at this important period of his life, must have been highly advantageous to him. He certainly enjoyed a good play very much, and used frequently to attend the theatres, particularly Drury-lane, when Mr. Garrick, returning from the continent,* re-appeared upon the stage. He generally went into the

* Mr. Garrick went abroad in September 1765, and returned in April 1765, but did not perform till the following November, being absent during much of Mr. Paley's residence at Greenwich.
—See Murphy's Life of Garrick.

pit, and seated himself as near to the orchestra as he could. But his chief amusement in London seemed to arise from attending the different courts of justice, the old Bailey in particular ; and there from his frequent attendance, and sagacity of observation, he acquired a clear and accurate knowledge of the criminal law. It is interesting, at all times, to trace the progress of a favorite inclination in youth, when leading to any laudable pursuit ; more especially in a man like Mr. Paley. The proceedings in the courts at Lancaster had made a forcible impression on his mind ; and the trial of Eugene Aram, no doubt, added strength to a propensity, in which his frequent visits to the metropolis, at this time, enabled him to indulge. In the midst of all this, he was perfectly satisfied with his lot, and found himself so happy in his situation at Greenwich, that he has been often heard to say, "the rank of first assistant in the academy was then the highest object of his ambition."

In 1765, Mr. Paley became a candidate for one of the prizes given annually by the representatives of the university of Cambridge to senior bachelors, the authors of the two best disserta-

tions in Latin prose. The subject proposed was *a comparison between the stoic and Epicurean philosophy, with respect to the influence of each on the morals of a people.* Mr. Paley, at all times averse to useless austerity, and a lover of rational enjoyment, naturally took the Epicurean side. His dissertation, first composed in English, and afterwards translated by himself into Latin, though far from elegant in point of style, is fraught with sound perspicuous reasoning, and strong manly sense. Evincing at once extensive reading, and a maturity of reflection far beyond his years, this early performance discovers no slight presages of his future eminence, and many characteristic features of his mind. In discussing the opposite characters of these rival systems of philosophy, he strenuously vindicates Epicurus against those calumnies, with which the ignorance or misrepresentation of his opponents have unjustly charged him, and maintains that his doctrines were favorable to none but rational pleasures, and the true happiness of mankind. The disciples of Zeno, on the other hand, he contends, whilst affecting an elevation of virtue inconsistent with human

nature, too often, in their practice, descended to the most flagitious of crimes.

This was perhaps a singular instance of a prize-dissertation in Latin, being sent up to the judges, with long notes in English. The reasons alleged for this, in a short preface, were the obscurity of a dead language, and the difficulty of ascertaining the exact meaning of words and phrases. This circumstance, however, though thus explained, had nearly proved fatal to its success. For when the merits of the several competitors came to be discussed by the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, by whom the prizes are awarded; one of the judges strongly objected to the essay on this very account, observing that "he supposed the author had been assisted by his father, some country-clergyman, who having forgotten his Latin had written the notes in English." Dr. Powell, master of St. John's college, spoke warmly in *its* favor, insisting that "it contained more matter than was to be found in all the others: that it would be unfair to reject such a dissertation merely on suspicion; since the notes were applicable to the subject, and shewed the

author to be a young man of the most promising abilities and extensive reading." This opinion seems to have been decisive, in turning the balance in Mr. Paley's favor, to whom the first prize was accordingly adjudged.

As soon as he was informed of his success, he wrote to Mr. Stoddart the following characteristic letter, without either date or name:—"Io triumphe! Chamberlayne is second."—Mr. Chamberlayne was a fellow of King's college, was reckoned one of the best classical scholars of that society; and had gained the first prize, as middle bachelor, in the preceding year.

Being now called upon by the university, as usual, to read his dissertation publicly in the senate-house, he went over from Greenwich, during the summer vacation of the academy there, and entering Cambridge alone in a post-chaise with the windows down, he ordered the postilion to drive slowly along the streets. This, when the subject was afterwards mentioned to him, he called a piece of ridiculous vanity, and seemed evidently much hurt at the recollection of it.

Yet in this triumphal entry he was by no means singular ; success has often produced this sort of weakness ; and what were Roman triumphs, but the display of vanity on a much larger scale ?

In the senate-house, he is said to have done little justice to the merits of his essay by his delivery. When he came to the following sentence ; “ In physicis bene multa dixerunt, et vestris digna studiis, et *meis* fortasse non aliena,” he spoke the latter part of it so affectedly, as to amuse his audience for some moments. Indeed, he afterwards confessed to a friend, that, when he came to that passage, his feelings were so acute as to overpower him, and to render ridiculous what he meant to be impressive.

Being ordained a deacon at the proper age, he engaged himself as curate to Dr. Hinchliffe, then vicar of Greenwich, and afterwards Bishop of Peterborough. Soon after this, he left the academy in consequence of a disagreement with Mr. Bracken, regarding the distribution of some money sent by the parents of the pupils, as presents

to the different assistants ; in which distribution he thought himself ill used. He continued, however, still to officiate in the church of Greenwich.

Mr. Paley was elected a fellow on the foundation of Christ's college, June 24th 1766, an appointment worth about one hundred pounds a year, at that time. In consequence of this he returned to a residence in the university, took his degree of master of arts, and engaged in the business of private tuition. He was afterwards engaged as an assistant in the public tuition of his college; and, at the general ordination for the diocese of London, holden, at St. James's chapel, December 21st 1767, was ordained a priest by Bishop Terrick.

On the translation of Dr. Cornwallis, from the see of Litchfield to the primacy, in August 1768, Mr. Backhouse, who had been for many years his chaplain, resigned his situation as tutor of Christ's college. Dr. Shepherd now held the tuition alone; but transferred the active duties of his station to his assistants, Mr.

Paley and Mr. Law. This latter gentleman, son of the master of Peterhouse, had distinguished himself as second wrangler, and first chancellor's medallist, in 1766. The talents and assiduity of these able scholars, aided by the plausibility of manners and powerful connections of their superior, soon raised the celebrity of their college to an unprecedented height.

At the installation of the Duke of Grafton as chancellor of the university, at the commencement, July 1st 1769, Mr. Grimstone, a fellow commoner of Christ's college, and pupil of Mr. Paley's, recited in the senate house some English verses, written for the occasion by Mr. Law, in which the new archbishop of Canterbury, then present, was mentioned in very flattering terms. At the election of officers in the following October, Mr. Law was appointed moderator, and, December 18th 1770, was elected a fellow of his college. Mr. Paley was at this time serving the office of taxor in the university, and was soon after appointed one

of the Whitehall preachers, his name appearing for the first time, in the register of the royal chapel there, April 21st 1771.

The most cordial friendship had subsisted between Mr. Paley and Mr Law from the period of their first acquaintance, and they now passed much of their leisure in each other's company, making excursions, during the long vacation, into different parts of the kingdom, and travelling usually in a single horse chaise. They are said to have once passed the evening at a country inn, with an ingenious and witty stranger, whom they afterwards discovered to be the celebrated John Wilkes.* Mr. Paley, who always told a good story with point and humour, even at his own expence, used often amusingly to detail the various adventures which they met with, or the little disasters which occasionally befel them in their progress; so that these tours not only excited a present interest, but became a permanent source of social entertainment.

* Public Characters, Vol. v, p. 103.

This intimacy naturally introduced Mr. Paley to his friend's father, Dr. Edmund Law, a divine no less distinguished by great intellectual attainments, than by unwearied exertions in the investigation of moral and religious truth; and who, by a patronage which does honor to the duke of Grafton's administration, was promoted to the see of Carlisle, in January 1769. After his elevation, however, he continued to reside chiefly at Cambridge, as master of Peterhouse, but making an annual visit to his diocese, and episcopal seat at Rose castle, where Mr. Paley usually accompanied him as his chaplain.

Mr. Edward Law, his lordship's third son, at this time a student of Peterhouse, is said to have been in no small degree indebted to Mr. Paley's instructions, in the cultivation of those talents, which have since raised him to one of the first judicial situations.

In the university Mr. Paley was held in very general esteem, more especially by Dr. Plumptre,

master of Queen's college, and professor of casuistry, and others of the liberal party.

He was particularly intimate with Dr. Waring, fellow of Magdalen college, and Lucasian professor of mathematics, who has been described by an ingenious writer, as "eminently distinguished beyond his contemporaries in the abstruser speculations of the mathematical department, and displaying on other topics an admirable portion of good sense and knowledge, recommended by a characteristic simplicity and unassuming gentleness of manners."* Yet there was little similarity between his and Mr. Paley's favorite pursuits; the one delighted chiefly in profound researches, and attended little to the business of society; the other was continually in quest of that knowledge which is practically useful. When afterwards, in 1774, Dr. Waring published a new edition of his *Miscellanea Analytica*, Mr. Paley corrected the press, an obligation which the author acknowledged at the conclusion of his preface, in a high, but justly merited

* Wakefield's Memoirs, 2d. ed. vol. 1. p. 132.

compliment on the learning and acuteness of his friend.*

Mr. Jebb, having vacated his fellowship by marriage in 1764, resided now at Cambridge as a private tutor, where he was not more universally admired for his genius and various erudition, than esteemed by his friends for the manly independence of his sentiments, and the goodness of his heart. In 1765, he published, in conjunction with Mr. Thorpe of Peterhouse, and Mr. Woolaston of Sidney college, *a Comment on those parts of the Principia of Newton, which more immediately relate to the System of the World*; and afterwards gave *lectures* on the *Greek Testament*, replete with learning, knowledge, and piety, and evincing an ardent zeal in the study of the scriptures, and the investigation of religious truth.† Mr. Paley shared largely in his esteem and confidence, notwithstanding some slight dif-

* In hoc opere edendo plurimum debeo curis viri reverendi Gul. Paley, in literis humanioribus et theologicis eruditissimi, et in veritatis investigatione ingenii viribus maxime pollentis.

† For a short account of these lectures, with a harmony of the Gospels, see Jebb's Works, vol. I. p. 1—136.

ference of opinion, as has since appeared from their writings, on a few questions in politics and religion, which would have excited no small asperity between less enlightened or less benevolent men. On essential points, however, they seem to have cordially agreed, especially in those controversies concerning subscription and annual examinations, which began to be agitated in the university about this time. The different line of conduct which each of them on such questions might occasionally pursue, seems to have resulted rather from difference of temperament than of principle ; from the motives which respectively actuate a sanguine and a cautious mind. Yet these motives may be, and in the present instance certainly were, equally pure and disinterested ; each party endeavouring to promote the virtue and happiness of his species in his own way. They were each of them men distinguished above the mass of their contemporaries by high intellectual endowments,—equally distinguished for the candor and liberality of their minds. An intimacy between such men was natural ; and, high as Mr. Paley afterwards stood in the public estimation,

it is no small honor, even to him, to be recorded as the friend and associate of Mr. Jebb.

Mr. William Sheepshanks, fellow of St. John's college, and a private tutor in the university, was many years contemporary there with Mr. Paley, and his intimate friend through life.

No studious man perhaps ever entered more into the pleasures of society than Mr. Paley, nor presented so rare an assemblage of amiable and attractive qualities in social life. His *naïveté*, his good humour, his fund of knowledge, and great powers of conversation, made him at once the life of the combination-room at his own college, and the delight of all who elsewhere associated with him in his unbending hours. He was at all times easy of access, and ready to enjoy the company of the rational and intelligent, as a relief from his professional engagements and his private studies. Amongst his friends no man was more highly esteemed; for, great as were his talents and literary attainments, even these were far exceeded by his many amiable traits of frankness and good nature.

Few tutors, perhaps, ever possessed so high and so well merited a reputation in every respect: for he seemed equally conversant in the avenues to the heart and to the head. Great as the distance confessedly is between an undergraduate of the lower orders and a tutor, yet by tempering the dignity of office with his wonted urbanity, kindness, and attention, he so far gained the confidence of his pupils, that he was honored and esteemed by all of them,—by many loved and revered. Fellow-commoners indeed, who, by the privileges of their order, have daily access to the society of their tutors, must have received no common satisfaction from his, since there was always something in his conversation either to instruct or to amuse.

Early in 1771, Mr. Paley and Mr. Law, whose exertions and ability had contributed so much to the prosperity of Christ's college, were united with Dr. Shepherd in the tuition; their names first appearing in the admission-book on the 13th of March. As yet, however, they only shared one half of the emoluments between them,

Dr. Shepherd retaining the other. But this being by no means adequate either to their merit or importance, they in the following year insisted upon a *trisection*, as Mr. Law called it, or equal division of the whole; with which the senior tutor, after some opposition, was obliged to comply.

Mr. Paley lectured on metaphysics, morals, and the Greek Testament, and, after he had been some years a tutor, on divinity: Mr. Law on the mathematics and natural philosophy. Mr. Paley was a most able and popular lecturer, excelling in the art of adapting himself to the understanding of his pupils, and elucidating the most abstruse points by a frequent and happy reference to the images of common life. It is a too common practice amongst lecturers, attending more to the subject of their discourse than the character of their audience, to make a formal harangue in their own manner, which, however learned and ingenious, is little suited to the capacities of youth, and therefore listened to with apathy or disgust. Mr. Paley, on the other hand,

contrived to interest the minds of his pupils, and to render his lectures at once instructive and entertaining, by pursuing a very different plan ; and his manner cannot be too much studied and admired.

His delivery was fluent, his language strong and perspicuous, though mixed sometimes with provincial, but expressive words and phrases, which, however, were purposely used, as uncommon and likely to be remembered. Whilst his similitudes and illustrations were apt and familiar, his general manner was also strikingly impressive. He made it a principal object to excite the doubts and solicitude of his pupils, before he proceeded in the disquisition : for he soon discovered that it required more pains to make young minds perceive the difficulty than understand the solution, and that unless some curiosity was raised before he attempted to satisfy it, his labor would be lost. He usually commenced his lecture by questioning one of his pupils on some point in that of the preceding day, to remove any misapprehension of what

he had already inculcated, and to fix the whole more firmly on their minds.* These examinations were not only a certain means of improvement at all times, but frequently a source of amusement; since the pointed interrogatories of the tutor, or the irrelevant answers of the embarrassed student, have been known to throw the whole lecture room into a tumult of mirth. But though he might indulge the cheerful laugh at intervals, Mr. Paley could, in an instant, restore order and decorum, and bring his pupils back to seriousness and thought, for those who were the most diverted with another's blunders, saw at once the danger of persisting, lest they became the next object of attack. After these preliminaries Mr. Paley proceeded in the clearest manner to discuss some subject in *Locke*, *Clarke*, or *Butler*, or in *moral philosophy*, pointing out the passages which should be read for the next day's lecture, and

* Compare this account of Mr. Paley's mode of lecturing, with what is recorded of the judicious practice of the late Professor Millar of Glasgow, in Mr. Craig's account of his life and writings, and in the *Edinburgh Review*. See *Orig and Dist of Ranks*, 4th edit. p. XIV.—XIX. and *Edin. Rev.* vol. IX. p. 86.

explaining every thing with such force and animation, that the driest subjects became interesting. By this means he secured not only the constant attendance of his pupils without the aid of punishments, but also their attention, whilst he lectured, and frequently their regret when he had done. The latent energies of their minds were thus awakened, and they entered with greater spirit into the discussions of each succeeding day.

Mr. Paley's *lectures on Locke* were delivered to his pupils in their first year, and, by a sort of paraphrase on his author, and by using his own language, he rendered them so plain and intelligible, that the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, which has been so often thought verbose and tedious, became at once easy and entertaining. From *Locke* he proceeded regularly to *Clarke on the Attributes* and *Butler's Analogy*: but it was immaterial what author he used for his text book, he made the whole his own, and he consequently succeeded in reducing the most abstruse systems to the capacity of his pupils.

His moral lectures were given to students in their second and third years, but on these it is unnecessary to enlarge, since their substance is contained almost verbatim in his great systematic work.*

His lectures on the Greek Testament were given every Sunday and Wednesday evening, at eight o'clock, and attended by all the under-graduates; who read and translated in turn as many verses as the lecturer thought fit. He then gave them the general sense, of the whole, pointed out those passages which deserved peculiar attention, and, explaining scripture by scripture, accompanied the whole with suitable moral exhortations. His explanation of the most difficult passages was always perspicuous and satisfactory, and much in the manner of free rational enquiry. But he carefully avoided all sectarian disputes, taking for his model, *Locke on the Reasonableness of Christianity*, and *on the Epistles*, works which he frequently recommended. The XXXIX Articles of Re-

* Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy.

ligion he treated of as mere articles of peace, the whole of which it was impossible the framers could expect any one person to believe, as upon dissection they would be found to contain about two hundred and forty distinct and independent propositions, many of them inconsistent with each other. They must therefore, he said, be considered as propositions, which, for the sake of keeping peace amongst the different sects of reformers, who originally united in composing the church of England, it was agreed should not be impugned or preached against. "The chief points insisted upon by Mr. Paley to his pupils were, that they should listen to God, and not to man; that they should exert their faculties in understanding the language of holy men of old; that they should free themselves as much as possible, from all prejudices of birth, education, and country; and that they should not call any one their master in religion, but JESUS CHRIST."*

* Universal Magazine, Nov. 1805, N. S. vol. iv. p. 416,

After this account of Mr. Paley's lectures, it will not be wondered, that copious notes of them were taken by many of his pupils, and that these manuscripts were not only in the highest repute in his own, but eagerly sought after in other colleges. One of his latest pupils, now a gentleman of very superior attainments, declares that, admiring both his system of lecturing and the matter of his lectures, during the short time that he attended them, he afterwards transcribed all that he could get from students of the years above him, and, speaking from memory, believes, that not a single idea has since been advanced in his writings, which these manuscripts did not contain. But whilst in his lectures Mr. Paley unfolded the germ of all his future publications, matured indeed in a period of comparative leisure, unfortunately the substance of all his lectures has not been presented to the world. His *lectures on Locke*, in particular, were truly valuable; and beyond all doubt, such a popular illustration of the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, calculated for the meridian of the present day, is still wanting, and

rendered perhaps more necessary, from the growing celebrity of a different school in the Theory of Mind, of which the genius and taste of Professor Stewart have long been the great ornament and support.*

Amongst his casual acquaintance at this period, Mr. Paley has been heard to mention the American General Lee, who visited England in company with Prince Poniatowski, and some other Polish noblemen, about the year 1772. In every party where they met, as Mr. Paley used to say, the general gave this toast, "the King of Poland, the parliament of Paris, and the people of America." A singular association of parties which now affords many subjects of serious and important reflection. The people of America alone have successfully struggled for civil liberty, and national independence: France bows to the dominion of a military despot; and Poland seems irretrievably enthralled to the sovereignty of more powerful states.

* See *Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind*, of which two additional volumes are now impatiently expected.

The Hyson club, a society where the members met to drink tea and pass the evening in rational conversation, had been established at Cambridge, by the wranglers of 1757, when Dr. Waring gained the first, and Mr. Jebb the second honors of the year. Several of the highest characters in the university were already enrolled amongst its members, when Mr. Paley became an associate, soon after his establishment in the tuition of Christ's college. No particular subjects of discussion were proposed at their meetings, but accident, or the taste of individuals, naturally led to topics, in which literary men might fairly unbend themselves from severer pursuits. In a debate one evening, on the justice and expediency of making some alteration in the ecclesiastical constitution of this country, for the relief of tender consciences, Dr. Gordon, fellow of Emanuel college, and afterwards precentor of Lincoln, an avowed tory in religion and politics, when vehemently opposing the arguments of Mr. Jebb, a strenuous supporter of all such improvements, exclaimed with his usual heat, " You mean, Sir, to impose.

upon us a new church government." "You are mistaken, Sir," said Mr. Paley, "Jebb only wants to ride his own horse, not to force you to get up behind him."*

The great controversy on the propriety of requiring a subscription to Articles of Faith, as practised by the church of England, excited at this time a very strong sensation amongst the members of the two universities. At Oxford, the principles of the high church party were completely triumphant, scarcely one opposing whisper being heard. But at Cambridge, the discussion exercised talents and ingenuity on both sides of the question, attended with no small asperity. Mr. Paley, though personally attached to many of the reforming party, and, from the known liberality of his sentiments, considered favorable to their claims, did not sign the cleri-

* Public Characters. vol. v. p. 104. So too says Tristram Shandy; "—— and so long as a man rides his HOBBY HORSE peaceably and quietly along the king's highway, and neither compels you or me to get up behind him,—pray, Sir, what have either you or I to do with it."

cal petition for relief, which was presented to the House of Commons in 1772, alleging jocularly to Mr. Jebb, as an apology for his refusal, that "he could not afford to keep a conscience."* On this occasion, it may fairly be presumed, that, reflecting on the power and influence of the adverse party, and the wonted indifference of the great mass of the community in all questions of principle and enlightened reasoning, he despaired of success, and thence prudently declined engaging in a measure, which, without procuring any relief to the petitioners, might have narrowed his own sphere of present usefulness, as well as thwarted all his prospects of advancement in life.

In the sequel of this controversy, however, he is understood to have taken a more decided part. An able and moderate pamphlet, entitled "*Considerations on the propriety of requiring a Subscription to Articles of Faith*," appeared

* See this apology pointedly alluded to in Jebb's Works, vol. ii. p. 127, note by the editor; and in the Universal Magazine for December, 1805, N. S. vol. iv p. 511.

from the press at Cambridge, in January 1774, and was reprinted at London, with additions, in the following April. This, though published anonymously, was soon discovered to be the production of the bishop of Carlisle, who in his exaltation had not abandoned the principles of his earlier years. *An Answer to the Considerations*, which appeared in May, at Oxford, from the Clarendon press, was also at the time anonymous, though afterwards inserted by Dr. Thomas Randolph, president of Corpus Christi college, in the printed advertisement of his works. This veteran dignitary, as archdeacon of Oxford, had already engaged in the controversy, in a Charge delivered to the clergy of that diocese, and published in December 1771, which is quoted in the present pamphlet. This attack was very quickly followed by a *Defence of the Considerations*, published at London in June: a spirited and acute tract, in which the "friend of religious liberty," as the author calls himself in his title page, exposes the sophistry of his opponent with an evident superiority of argument and good sense. This tract has been uniformly as-

cribed to Mr. Paley's pen, and displays strong internal evidence of the writer, not more in the matter, than in the style and manner of the composition. It was his first essay in argument given to the world, and is in every respect worthy of his great talents. The discussion to which it refers has indeed long ceased to agitate the general attention, but the subject is still too important to be forgotten, or even silently passed over ; and so fair a specimen of his abilities in controversial writing ought by no means to be lost.*

The improvements in academical discipline, so repeatedly and so earnestly proposed by Mr. Jebb, from 1772 to 1776, as a scheme for employing the active spirits of young men, and for providing, at a dangerous age, diversified objects and adequate motives for study, met with Mr. Paley's hearty approbation and support. He was one of those members of the

* See Appendix, p. 3—46 Since the above was written, and the Appendix almost entirely printed off, this tract has also been inserted in a collection of the author's minor works: *Sermons and Tracts*, p. 1*—48*

syndicate, appointed in February 1774, who, in the opinion of the proposer, "had integrity, learning, and ability, and were well disposed to the good work."* In these efforts for the advancement of so useful a design, Mr. Jebb was likewise joined by the Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Plumptre, Dr. Waring, Dr. Watson, and Mr. Law. The general utility and importance of establishing annual examinations for the students of the whole university and of every order, and of giving adequate encouragement to every kind of proficiency, could hardly be disputed, and yet each successive plan brought forward by Mr. Jebb or his supporters for this purpose, though strenuously maintained by several learned and respectable academics, and countenanced by the chancellor of Cambridge,† was ultimately rejected.‡ But though unsuccessful in this, and in his other plans of improvement, the name of Jebb will live revered among the friends of reason, liberty, and

* Disney's *Memoirs of Jebb*, p. 60, in *Jebb's Works*, vol. 1.

† The Duke of Grafton.

‡ See *Disney's Memoirs of Jebb*, and *Jebb's Works*, vol. II. p. 255—390, vol. III. p. 259—282.

learning, when his opponents are consigned to a merited oblivion, or only mentioned as the impugnors of his salutary projects. The influence of interested jealousy, of party spirit, or of personal prejudice, too often for a time preponderates, but the friends of rational reformation will in most cases eventually prevail.

In the literary warfare which resulted from these two important questions, the lady of this ardent reformer occasionally took up the pen, and entered the lists against some of the most formidable champions on the other side. She successively assailed Dr. Randolph, Dr. Halifax,* and Dr. Balguy,† the advocates of subscription, in the London Chronicle, a paper of extensive circulation, under the signature of Priscilla;‡ and published separately, “*A Letter to the Author*

* Afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph.

† Archdeacon of Winchester.

‡ Priscilla's Letters to Dr. Randolph appeared in the London Chronicle, Dec. 26th 1771; Jan. 4th and 18th, and April 28th 1772; to Dr. Halifax, March 24th and May 26th 1772; and to Dr. Balguy, Dec. 19th and 29th 1772, Jan. 14th and 26th 1773, Jan. 25th and March 29th 1774.

of an Observation on the design of establishing Annual Examinations:" a tract pretty confidently ascribed to Dr. Powell. Dr. Halifax is said to have felt the keenness of Priscilla's pen so poignantly, that he called on Wilkie the publisher, to advise him not to print any more of her letters; and the archdeacon of Oxford's charge was so effectually refuted, that Mr. Paley in allusion to it, in his *Defence of the Considerations*, quaintly observed—"The Lord hath sold *Sisera* into the hand of a *woman*."

The writer of these Memoirs is happy in being able to adduce the testimony of this ingenious lady to Mr. Paley's merits at this important period of his life; and feels himself equally flattered and obliged by her great exertions when in a very delicate state of health. "I wish," she observes, addressing the friend through whom application was made for her assistance, "I could, *even with fatigue*, be of any service in the life of Paley; for I esteemed him much, and also his writings, particularly his *Horæ Paulinæ*: and no student, I do assure you, ever labored harder for an honorable degree,

or more anxiously wished for success, than I have to recollect something worth communicating, as a proof of my regard to him. I am truly vexed that I have labored in vain; but if in all that my rambling thoughts have brought to my recollection, you should find one sentence or hint worthy of communicating, you have my leave to present it. With respect to the general esteem in which Paley was held at Cambridge, I think *his biographer* cannot say too much; but he was more particularly esteemed by the liberal party, the master of Queen's, &c. I saw Miss Plumptre the other day, and we agreed in asserting that we never heard a single syllable against his moral character. I remember that Paley used to be looked upon as the life of every party he frequented; and yet I can with truth assert that no one could be a more attentive hearer. In the early part of our acquaintance, when Paley, in company with other friends, was drinking tea with us, Mr. Jebb as usual spoke his own sentiments very freely; and, after they left us, remarked that he did not know what to make of Paley, for that he said nothing: upon which I observed that he had been very attentive, and gave it as my firm

opinion that he would be very liberal. After a further acquaintance Mr. Jebb told me I was right, for that Paley, he now saw, from the course of his studies, was endeavouring to explore the truth for himself, or words to that effect. That such a man, after the many proofs he had given of his deserving a bishopric, was not promoted to one, is a proof that merit is very far from being the direct road to preferment."

The elevation of Dr. Edmund Law to the see of Carlisle naturally led to the promotion of his son, who, having obtained a prebendal stall in the cathedral of that diocese and the living of Warkworth, resigned his engagements in the university in June 1774. At this period the reputation of Christ's college had been raised to an unexampled pitch by the united exertions of the tutors; and it was no less distinguished by the number than by the opulence and rank of its students. Mr. Law was succeeded in his department by Mr. Parkinson,* fellow of the college, who had been senior wrangler and Smith's prize-

* Now archdeacon of Huntingdon.

man in 1769. Mr. Paley continued at his post two years after the departure of his friend. In addition to his engagements as a public tutor, he had all along derived considerable emoluments from bestowing some hours daily on the instruction of private pupils.

The reputation which he had so deservedly acquired is said to have induced the late Earl Camden, on sending his son the present Earl to the university, to offer Mr. Paley the situation of his private tutor; which other engagements led him to decline.* Amongst the many high proofs of esteem and approbation which he might through life receive, this decisive testimony of the confidence of a great constitutional lawyer can by no means be considered the least; and as the acceptance of this offer might have led, by honorable patronage, to the highest clerical dignity, the refusal of it shows that Mr. Paley then sought the advancement of his fortunes by perseverance in the regular duties of his profession alone.

* Public Characters, vol. V. p. 109.

He held, indeed, all those little arts of underhand address, by which patronage and preferment are so frequently pursued, in supreme contempt. He was not of a nature to *root*; *rectory* for that was his own expressive term, afterwards much used in the university, to denote the sort of practice alluded to. He one day humourously proposed at some social meeting, that a certain contemporary fellow of his college, at that time distinguished for his elegant and engaging manners, and who has since attained no small eminence in the church of England, should be appointed *professor of rooting*. *of the rectory*

The bishop of Carlisle, after providing for his son, made Mr. Paley the chief object of his patronage, and presented him to the rectory of Musgrove in Westmoreland, a living then worth about eighty pounds a year. He was inducted to this little benefice, May 28th. 1775, and afterwards passed much of his leisure during the long vacation, between Rose Castle and Mr. Law's prebendal house at Carlisle. In the autumn of this year he attached himself to

Miss Jane Hewitt, a handsome and pleasing young lady of that city, to whom his suit was successfully preferred. He returned however to Cambridge at the usual time.

In 1776, a new edition of Bishop Law's *Reflections on the Life and Character of Christ*, originally published in the *Considerations on the Theory of Religion*, was given in a separate form at Cambridge, for the benefit of academical youth. To this treatise some brief *Observations on the Character and Example of Christ*, were added as a *summary* of its contents, with an *Appendix on the Morality of the Gospel*; both from Mr. Paley's pen, and not unworthy to be now distinctly preserved.* From a passage in this little essay it should appear, that his theory of morals was not then altogether firmly settled on the basis which supports it now: and yet the writer has been assured, that the doctrine of expediency was previously maintained by him in his moral lectures. In the present work, however, he remarks that "The gospel maxims of

* Appendix, p. 47—70.

loving our neighbour as ourselves, and doing as we would be done by, are much superior rules of life to the το προπον of the Greek, and the *bonestum* of the Latin moralists, in forming ideas of which, people put in or left out just what they pleased ; and better than the *utile*, or *general expediency* of the modern, which few can estimate. As motives likewise, or principles of action, they are much safer than either *the love of our country*, which has oft times been destructive to the rest of the world ; or *friendship*, the almost constant source of partiality and injustice.”*

This paragraph is curious, as independent of all positive testimony to the contrary, it certainly would seem to determine the theory maintained in the *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, to have been adopted by Mr. Paley, between the years 1776 and 1785. Every thing that regards the formation of so popular a work, a work so much perused for indoctrinating the youth of this country, deserves attention. The

* Appendix, p. 66.

difficulty of estimating is the very objection of all others, which presses the hardest on his present system: but he has wonderfully lightened, if not altogether removed the pressure.

Mr. Paley preached for the last time at Whitehall on the 21st of April, his labours in the university terminated in the month of May, and, on the 6th of June, he was married to Miss Hewitt, in the church of St Mary's Carlisle, where his friend Mr. Law performed the ceremony. On the 29th of the same month, he was succeeded in his fellowship by Mr. Majendie, now Bishop of Chester; and retired into the Diocese of Carlisle, leaving behind him amongst his friends and pupils, the well-earned sentiments of esteem and regret.

Striking as the contrast must appear between his situation in the university and amongst his present parishioners, he frequently observed, that at Musgrove he had passed some of the happiest days of his life. Satisfied with the small earnest of patronage, which he had thus received,

no cares about his future prospects disturbed the serenity of his mind. The situation of this pleasant village, on the banks of the river Eden, allowed him to indulge himself frequently in angling, the favorite amusement of his youth. So partial indeed was he to a sport, which, notwithstanding the opinion of honest Walton, can scarcely be reconciled to either reason or humanity, that he, at one time, kept a journal of his exploits, and had afterwards his portrait taken with his rod and line.* Alluding to his success in trouting for pike, he used to say, that the fish, when not hungry, would sometimes nibble without swallowing the bait, in which case he found it necessary to stimulate its appetite by manœuvring, “for,” added he, “the pike reasons thus, though I am not hungry now, I may be to-morrow, and therefore must not lose so tempting a prize.”

At this time Mr. Paley, as he afterwards fre-

* By Romney, from which an engraved portrait was published by Jones in 1792.

quently declared, found himself, notwithstanding his habits of observation and enquiry, very deficient in that practical knowledge, which can only be obtained from an active intercourse with the mass of mankind. Being induced to undertake the management of a small farm, as a source at once of profit and of occupation, he calculated too little on his own want of acquaintance with husbandry, and the different habits of his earlier life. "I soon found," said he, when alluding to the failure of his project, "that this would never do: I was a bad farmer, and almost invariably lost."

The liberality of his benefactor, however, was not confined to a single gift. Before the close of the same year, December 2d 1776, he was inducted into the vicarage of Dalston in Cumberland, in the neighbourhood of Rose Castle, worth about ninety pounds per annum. In 1777, Mr. Law was promoted to the archdeaconry of Carlisle, and, from the age and infirmities of his father, had now the chief management of all the

affairs of the diocese, as well as a leading influence with the dean and chapter.

On the 15th of July 1777, Mr. Paley preached, at the visitation of the bishop, in the cathedral church of Carlisle, a discourse, which he afterwards published with the title of "*Caution recommended in the use and application of Scripture language.*"* Mr. Paley is here an advocate for the sober and solid interpretation of Scripture, and his reasoning is well calculated to counterbalance the opinions of those, who would transfer indiscriminately, many expressions, describing the peculiar circumstances of the first promulgation of the gospel, to the present case of the Christian world. Some passages, particularly one against applying the terms "regenerate, born of the spirit, new creatures," to the personal condition of any individuals of the present day, exactly as they were applied to the first apostles and their immediate converts, have been strongly censured by Dr. Knox in the preface to his

* Sermons and Tracts, p. 1—17. Appendix, p. 73—77.

Christian Philosophy, whilst the whole discourse has been warmly recommended by Dr. Percival, in communicating an epitome of it to his eldest son.*

On the 5th of September he resigned the rectory of Musgrove, and, on the 10th of the same month, was inducted to the more valuable vicarage of Appleby, estimated at about two hundred pounds a year: between which place and Dalston he now divided his time, residing alternately six months at each.

Mr. Yates, the celebrated master of the free grammar school at Appleby, which he had taught with extraordinary credit and success for more than half a century, was, at that time, almost on the verge of his eightieth year. But, as he still retained the vigour of his faculties, and was at once a gentleman in principles and manners, he naturally ranked high amongst the inhabitants of a provincial town. Between him

* Percival's Works, vol. I. p. 305.

and Mr. Paley an intimacy was quickly formed; and some reciprocal compliments, which occurred during their intercourse, are still remembered by their mutual friends. "Mr. Paley reasons like Locke," was the obvious remark of the veteran, "Mr. Yates writes Latin like Erasmus," the equally well merited reply.*

Mr. Paley was also intimate with some of the most eminent barristers, who attended on the northern circuit at the assizes at Appleby and Carlisle. Amongst these, his old tutor Mr. Wilson had been for some years distinguished by a profound knowledge of the law, united to a strong and correct judgment, as well as by many interesting good qualities in private life. He was a native of Troutbeck in Westmoreland, where he frequently passed the short interval of his leisure from professional engagements, on a small patrimonial estate; and during his retirement there, in a subsequent year, to his own great surprise, was appointed one of the puisne judges of the Court of Common Pleas.

* See Appendix, p. 119—129.

Mr. Lee, whose great professional abilities, uniform integrity of conduct, and steady attachment to the true principles of civil and religious liberty, will be long remembered to his honor, was a leading counsel on the circuit at this time. Distinguished by many social virtues himself, as well as by his sterling sense and literary accomplishments, he naturally had a very high opinion of and regard for Mr. Paley, with whom he lived on terms of intimacy for many years. Mr. Paley, accompanied by his friend Law when afterwards advanced to a bishopric, once visited Mr. Lee at his house at Staindrop in the county of Durham, a visit rendered peculiarly pleasant to all parties, by the collision of such great conversational powers.*

* Mr. Lee was successively solicitor and attorney-general during the two short administrations of Mr. Fox in 1782 and 1783; and continued through life attached to the constitutional principles and enlightened policy of that truly eminent man. Being once asked his opinion of Mr. Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, he replied "I find much in it to praise, much to blame, and much to doubt; but after all it is a very wonderful book." This just and striking remark on the merits of a work so fatal in its consequences, as influencing public opinion; deserves to be recorded as a strong proof of his discriminative

Whilst vicar of Appleby he gave to the world a small volume, selected from the Book of Common Prayer, and the writings of several eminent divines, entitled *The Clergyman's Companion in Visiting the Sick*; a very useful manual, and such as he had probably experienced the want of himself. This compilation was published at first anonymously; but it has since passed through at least nine editions, and is now sanctioned with his name.* The professional usefulness of this book to the clergy, is no small recommendation of its merits; but when considered as originating in Mr. Paley's personal attention to the spiritual wants of his own flock, it affords an additional and permanent proof of his worth as a parochial minister.

On the 16th of June 1780 he was installed a prebendary of the fourth stall in the cathedral of Carlisle, worth about four hundred pounds per

wisdom. Mr. Lee gave his last vote in the House of Commons, December 13th 1792, with Mr. Fox, against those rash and intemperate proceedings, which eventually involved their country in the calamities of a protracted war. He died in August 1793.

* Sermons and Tracts, p. 267.—517.

annum, and thus became the coadjutor of his friend Mr. Law in the chapter.

Mr. Patey, as chaplain to the bishop of Carlisle, preached an admonitory Sermon, at the general ordination holden by his lordship at Rose Castle, on the 29th of July 1791. In this excellent Discourse, which was afterwards published,* he displays a benevolent anxiety to promote the welfare of his hearers by seasonable and judicious advice; advice peculiarly adapted to the situation of those who have to sustain the character of curates: an order of men so useful in their profession, and of which a very great proportion of the candidates for ordination at Carlisle is usually composed. He points out to them in a few plain and practicable rules, which equally evince his piety and good sense, how they may best recommend themselves to the esteem of their parishioners, and discharge the duties of their station. The *Advice* thus earnestly *addressed to the young Clergy of the diocese of Carlisle*, cannot be too strongly inculcated on all clergy-

* Sermons and Tracts, p. 19—39. Appendix p. 78—84.

men who fill the lower ranks of the establishment, as it tends to make even youth venerable, and poverty respected.

Mr. Yates died soon after this, in the eighty first year of his age ; on which occasion Mr. Paley wrote the just and striking eulogy, inscribed on the marble monument erected to this eminent teacher's memory in Appleby church.* His own connection with that place terminated in the following year, when, in consequence of Mr. Law's promotion to an Irish bishopric, he was appointed archdeacon of Carlisle, and divided his future residence between Dalston and his prebendal house.

He was installed in his new dignity, August 5th 1782. The archdeaconry is, in fact, a mere sinecure, the duties usually attached to that office being here performed by the chancellor, whose power extends through the whole diocese. The rectory of Great Salkeld, worth one hundred and twenty pounds per annum, is always annexed to

* Appendix p. 128.

the archdeaconry, and has been so from the foundation of the see.

Immediately after this, Mr. Paley went with his friend to Dublin, where, September 21, he preached the Sermon in the Castle chapel, at his consecration to the bishopric of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh ; and afterwards accompanied him to his episcopal residence, on the great river Shannon in Galway, one of the least civilized portions of the island. In the course of this journey he was no idle observer, as his remarks after his return evinced, of the peculiar wretchedness of the lower Irish, and of that ingenuity in eluding taxes, at once injudicious and oppressive, by which that poor and neglected people were then, if not even now, unhappily distinguished.

In the Consecration Sermon, afterwards published with the title of "*A Distinction of Orders in the Church defended upon principles of public utility*,"* Mr. Paley states the difference between Christianity in its vital principles and in its ex-

* Sermons and Tracts, p. 41—61. Appendix p. 85—90.

ternal forms ; and whilst he candidly admits that it may exist under any form of church government, defends the ecclesiastical establishment of his own country, as congenial to the character and habits of the various orders of the community, and calculated to promote the credit and efficacy of the sacerdotal office. An account of this discourse, with some extracts, given in the *Monthly Review* for March 1783, drew forth some very severe remarks from the poet Cowper, who, in a letter to Mr. Unwin on the 12th of May following, insinuates, that from the stretch of ingenuity exerted in the argument, one might suspect the argument itself to be unsound.*

From the correspondence of the same elegant writer it should appear, that Mr. Paley had favored their common friend Mr. Unwin with his sentiments on education, early in the ensuing year ; since the following passage, in a letter dated May 8th 1784, certainly does not refer to any thing at that time contained in his published

* See Hayley's *Life and Posthumous Works of Cowper*, 8vo. vol. II. p. 84. Appendix p 91—93.

works. "I am glad to have Paley on my side in the affair of education: he is certainly on all subjects a sensible man, and on such a wise one."* Mr. Unwin's attention seems at this time to have been much directed to the instruction of his eldest son: and several interesting letters, recommending a private in preference to a public system of education, were addressed to him by Mr. Cowper, who must have entertained a deeply rooted antipathy to great schools. Mr. Paley's sentiments on this important subject, if anywhere preserved, would no doubt be acceptable to the world; and the present writer cannot sufficiently lament, that his own enquiries to elucidate still farther so pointed an allusion have not been attended with success. It is worth the while, however, for the reader to see what Mr. Paley afterwards thought it right to recommend in the choice of a public or private education, at the close of his chapter on the *Duty of Parents*, in his *Moral and Political Philosophy*.†

* Hayley's Cowper, vol. II. p. 211.

† Bk. iii. pt. iii. c. 9. 2d. ed. 4to. p. 300, and 11th ed. 8vo. vol. I. p. 366; which editions are invariably quoted in this work.

A report has been long in circulation, that Mr. Paley, being appointed to preach before the university of Cambridge, on the day when Mr. Pitt, after his elevation to the premiership in 1784, made his first appearance at St. Mary's, chose this singular but appropriate text—"There is a lad here, who hath five barley loaves and two small fishes, but what are *they* among so many?" John vi. 9. A lady who had seen this story in a newspaper, once asked the facetious divine if it was true. "Why no, madam," replied he, "I certainly never preached such a sermon, I was not at Cambridge at the time; but I remember that, one day, when I was riding out with a friend in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, and we were talking about the bustle and confusion which Mr. Pitt's appearance would then cause in the university, I said, that if I had been there, and asked to preach on the occasion, I would have taken that passage for my text."

On the hint of such a text, Mr. Paley was the very man to have preached a sermon,

which, without personality or virulent declamation, would have sufficiently shown his opinion of the unmanly adulation paid at that time, by several members of the university, to the aspiring premier, whom, but a few months before, they had rejected, as unworthy of their votes. The son of Chatham, it is true, when he first solicited their suffrages, had no other recommendations than the high character of his father, his own promising talents, and the constitutional principles of his early years: when he returned to them, after a short interval, he was the first ostensible minister of the crown. On his former appearance, he was not indeed without supporters, but they were men of a very different stamp from those, who became his most devoted adherents afterwards: men of the first talents and integrity, of strict and steady patriotism, but who withdrew their confidence from the minister, when he openly abandoned what they deemed the great cause of their country. The conduct of the majority, however, on these occasions, is not without a parallel of a much more recent date, in the treatment experienced from several mem-

bers of the same university by an ingenuous youth, when newly invested with office, and when he had no longer any share of the loaves and fishes to dispense.*

But whilst others were thus *rooting* for preferment, Mr. Paley was engaged in the composition of an important work, the general outlines of which had been delivered to his pupils at Christ's college. The bishop of Clonfert, to whom the merit of his friend's lectures was well known, and who justly thought that those on morals, in particular, might be expanded into a most useful treatise for public instruction, had strenuously urged their publication in an improved form. Mr. Paley at first suggested, as an objection, the little attention usually paid to such subjects, and the risk of publishing a book which might not sell: but when he found himself in possession of a competent income from his patron's kindness, he no longer hesitated to employ his leisure in the execution of this great design.

* Compare, as far as Lord Henry Petty is concerned, the state of the poll, at the two elections for the university of Cambridge, Feb. 7, 1806, and May 8, 1807.

When the manuscript was ready for the press, Mr Paley would have sold it to Mr. Faulder of Bond street, the publisher of his occasional sermons, for three hundred pounds, but he refused to give more than two hundred and fifty. Whilst the treaty was pending, a bookseller from Carlisle, happening to call on an eminent publisher in Paternoster-row, was commissioned by him to offer Mr. Paley one thousand pounds for the copy-right of his work. The bookseller, on his return to Carlisle, duly executed the commission, which was communicated without delay to the bishop of Clonfert, who, being at that time in London, had undertaken the management of the affair. "Never did I suffer so much anxious fear," said Mr. Paley, in relating the circumstance, "as on this occasion, lest my friend should have concluded the bargain with Mr. Faulder, before my letter could reach him." Luckily he had not, but, on receiving the letter, went immediately into Bond-street and made this new demand. Mr. Faulder, though in no small degree surprized and astonished at the advance, agreed to pay the sum required

before the bishop left the house. "Little did I think," said Mr. Paley in allusion to this affair, "that I should ever make *a thousand pounds* by any book of mine:" a strong proof of unassuming merit; but after the offer above-mentioned, he was entitled to have asked a still larger sum.

The *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, or, as it was at first entitled, the *Principles of Morality and Politics*, appeared in 1785, in one volume quarto, dedicated in a very elegant address, to his patron the bishop of Carlisle. The partiality of friendship was not disappointed in the success of this excellent work, which, notwithstanding a few objectionable passages, soon established the author's reputation. It passed through fifteen editions during his life; in which, amidst many verbal alterations, there are none which materially affect the sense. Whilst he makes no pretensions to perfect originality, he claims to be something more than a mere compiler. The mode of reasoning and illustrations are generally his own; but he has bor-

rowed much, as he fairly acknowledges, from preceding writers, and particularly from the desultory but ingenious treatise of Mr. Abraham Tucker, *The Light of nature pursued*.*

Many of Mr Paley's positions are enforced by the most sound and convincing arguments; many of those arguments are illustrated with the most apposite examples: the intricacies of abstruse speculation are studiously accommodated to practical utility, and moral conclusions most happily applied to the incidents of common life.† But he has been no where more fortunate in his elucidations, than when contrasting the means by which so many vainly seek for *happiness*, with those by which he invariably secured it to himself.‡ As the government of human action is the end of all moral reasoning, it was no inconsiderable merit to render this important study interesting and intelligible to the generality of

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. pref. 4to. p. xii. xiii. Svo. vol. I xxiv. xxv.

† Gisborne's Principles of Moral Philosophy investigated, p. 2.

‡ Mor. and Pol. Phil. book i, chap. 6.

mankind. Hence Mr. Paley's labors have obtained the attention, and influenced the conduct of numbers, who would have turned from former treatises on the subject with cold indifference.

"Virtue," as Mr. Paley, in the words of the bishop of Carlisle,* defines it, "*is the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness.*" The 'good of mankind,' therefore, is the subject, the 'will of God' the rule, and 'everlasting happiness' the motive of human virtue.† *All obligation consists in being urged by a violent motive resulting from the command of another.*‡ As the will of God, then, is the rule, to inquire what is his duty, or what a man is obliged to do in any instance, is, in effect, to inquire what is the will of God in that instance: which consequently becomes the whole business of morality. There

* See Law's Translation of King on the Origin of Evil, 5th ed. prefatory Tracts on Morality and Religion, p. liv. and note 52, p. 256; also his Considerations on the Theory of Religion, 7th ed. note (A) p. 239.

† Mor. and Pol. Phil. 4to. p. 36; 8vo. vol. I. p. 41.

‡ Idem 4to. p. 49; 8vo. vol. I. p. 57.

are two methods of coming at the will of God on any point: by his express declarations, when they are to be had, and which must be sought for in scripture; and by what can be discovered of his designs and disposition from his works, or, as it is usually called, the light of nature.* The tendency of any action to promote or diminish the general happiness, is the fairest criterion for ascertaining the will of God by the light of nature; since the many proofs of benevolence apparent in the works of creation warrant the conclusion, that *He* wills and wishes the happiness of his creatures; and that those actions are agreeable to him or the contrary, which promote or frustrate that effect.† Actions, in the abstract, then, are right or wrong according to their tendency. Whatever is expedient is right. It is the utility of any moral rule alone that constitutes the obligation of it.‡ The expediency of any action, however, must be estimated by general rules, and in reference to all its remote and collateral consequences, as

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. 4to. p. 54; 8vo. vol. I. p. 62, 63.

† Idem, 4to. p. 56—60; 8vo. vol. I. p. 65—70.

‡ Idem, 4to. p. 61; 8vo. vol. I. p. 70.

well as those which are immediate and direct.* *Right* and *obligation* are reciprocal ; for, wherever there is a right in one person, there must be a corresponding obligation upon others. Now because moral *obligation* depends upon the will of God, *right*, which is correlative to it, must depend upon the same. *Right* therefore signifies *consistency with the wi of God.*†”

Such are the outlines of a theory, which Mr. Paley has very ably and perspicuously unfolded, and applied to the solution of the various difficulties, which may be expected to occur in the moral reasoning or conduct of an inhabitant of this country in the present age : for he “ has examined no doubts, discussed no obscurities, encountered no errors, and adverted to no controversies, but such as he had seen actually to exist.‡”

Other philosophers have sought in metaphysical enquiry for the ultimate basis of moral

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. 4to. p. 68 ; 8vo. vol. I. p. 78.

† Id. 4to. p. 72 ; 8vo. vol. I. p. 82,

‡ Id. pteface, 4to. x. 8vo. xxii.

sentiments: Mr. Paley has raised the superstructure of practical truth, on the plainest and most intelligible motives. There may be found, in every period and condition of life, a rectitude of disposition, the result of habit and of favorable associations, that supersedes all the dictates of theory. The man, who has acquired this principle, will find the details of his own practice here developed in a connected system of precepts. When he has read the premises, his heart will anticipate the conclusion, which it becomes the business of reason only to confirm.

Mr. Paley has been thought by some, "to make morality depend too much on religion, since a different idea of its obligation must be sought for by those, who would found their systems, independent of the sanctions which revelation affords. Virtue may, indeed, be shewn to be obligatory, without any reference to Christianity, and many powerful inducements to its practice may be derived from the conduct and writings of several eminent heathens, who were

actuated by motives derived from reason alone.* But by combining the declarations of scripture with the conclusions of reason, Mr. Paley has certainly added strength to those motives, and enforced the practice of virtue by those sanctions, which mankind stand most in need of, and of which heathen morality was devoid.

In opposition to the venerable authority of Locke on the origin of *Government*, Mr. Paley rejects the intervention of a compact between the citizen and the state, as the ground and cause of the relation between them, deeming such a compact unfounded in its principle and dangerous in the application, and assigns *the will of God as collected from expediency*, for the only ground of the subject's obligation to the duty of civil obedience.† “Civil society,” he observes, “is conducive to the happiness of human life, which it is the will of God should be promoted; and as civil societies cannot be upheld, unless in each, the interest of

* Pearson's Remarks on the Theory of Morals, p. 155--156.

† Mor. and Pol. Phil. Book VI chap. 3.

the whole society be binding upon every part and member of it ;” he concludes “ that so long as the interest of the whole society requires it, that is, so long as the established government cannot be resisted or changed without public inconveniency, it is the will of God, (which *will* universally determines human duty,) that the established government be obeyed,—and no longer.”*

“ This principle being admitted, the justice of every particular case of resistance is reduced to a computation of the quantity of the danger and grievance on the one side, and of the probability and expense of redressing it on the other ; of which ‘ every man must judge for himself.’ In contentions between the sovereign and the subject, the parties acknowledge no common arbitrator ; and it would be absurd to commit the decision to *those* whose conduct has provoked the question, and whose own interest, authority, and fate are immediately concerned in it. The danger of error and abuse is no objection to the

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. 4to. p. 423, 424 ; 8vo. vol. II. p. 142.

rule of expediency, because every other rule is liable to the same or greater ; and every rule that can be propounded upon the subject, (like all rules which appeal to, or bind the conscience,) must in the application depend upon private judgment.* Changes, however, ought not to be adventured upon without a comprehensive discernment of the consequences ;—without a knowledge, as well of the remote tendency, as of the immediate design.†”

“ *Civil-liberty is the not being restrained by any law, but what conduces in a greater degree to the public welfare.*‡ This definition of civil liberty imports that the laws of a free people impose no restraints upon the private will of the subject, which do not conduce in *a greater degree* to the public happiness.§ The degree of actual liberty always bearing a reversed proportion to the number and severity of the *restrictions*, which are

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. 4to. p. 424; 8vo. vol. II. p. 142, 143.

† Id. 4to. p. 469; 8vo. vol. II. p. 198.

‡ Id. 4to. p. 441; 8vo. vol. II. p. 164.

§ Id. 4to. p. 442; 8vo. vol. II. p. 165.

either useless, or the utility of which does not outweigh the evil of the restraint ; it follows that every nation possesses some, no nation perfect liberty.* It is not the rigor, but the inexpediency of laws and acts of authority, which makes them tyrannical.† Another idea of civil liberty, neither so simple nor so accurate, places it in security; making it to consist not merely in an actual exemption from the constraint of useless and noxious laws and acts of dominion, but in being free from the *danger* of having any such hereafter imposed or exercised.‡ Whichever of these two ideas of civil liberty is assumed, and whatever reasoning concerning its extent, nature, value, and preservation, is founded upon them, this is the conclusion:—that *that* people, government, and constitution, is the *freest*, which makes the best provision for the enacting of expedient and salutary laws.§”

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. 4to. p. 443 ; 8vo. vol. II. p- 166.

† Id. 4to p. 444 ; 8vo vol. II. p. 167.

‡ Id. 4to. p. 444 ; 8vo. vol II. p. 168.

§ Id. 4to. p. 448 ; 8vo. vol. II. p. 172.

Individuals will naturally be influenced by preceding associations, in the opinions they may form of these conclusions, which, whilst they will certainly displease the staunch advocates of regal prerogative, may even fail to satisfy the sanguine assertors of popular rights. But in his practical observations on the detail of government, and particularly on *religious establishments and toleration*,* the author ably enforces the duties of men in public stations, and displays a generous attachment to the true interests of those for whose benefit alone such stations are designed.

Mr. Paley's theory of morals, with many of his inferences and conclusions, were repeatedly contested without ever provoking a reply. Mr. Gisborne and Mr. Pearson are the most eminent of his opponents; but their objections have gained little credit with the public, in comparison with the increasing reputation of his work. "He possesses, indeed," to use the language of a very eloquent writer, "those invaluable qualities of a moralist, good sense, caution, sobriety, and per-

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. book VI. chap. 8.

petual reference to convenience and practice; and *he* certainly is thought less original than he really is, merely because his taste and modesty have led him to disdain the ostentation of novelty, and because he generally employs more art to blend his own arguments with the body of received opinions, so as that they are scarcely to be distinguished, than other men, in the pursuit of a transient popularity, have exerted to disguise the most miserable common places in the shape of a paradox.”*

His reasoning on *subscription to articles of religion*,† and on the *British constitution*,‡ where he disputes the expediency of a reform in the House of Commons, and vindicates the undue influence of the crown in that assembly, is certainly liable to great objection. His chapter on *subscription* has indeed been assailed with equal asperity, by the strenuous adherents of the

* Mackintosh's Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations, p. 32.

† Mor. and Pol. Phil. book III. pt. I. c. 22.

‡ Id. book VI. c. 7.

established church, and by the scrupulous maintainers of protestant freedom: it is really the *gangrene* of his work. It may, however, be esteemed the last effort of an ingenious mind, to soften, by interpretation, the rigor of a practice, which he could not seriously approve; and so to enlarge the pale of conformity to liberal and conscientious men. Mr. Paley's casuistry, in this instance, on the nature and extent of the obligation incurred, may be most effectually answered by his own better reasoning on the propriety of subscription, in his *Defence of bishop Law's Considerations*, and in his chapter of *religious establishments and of toleration*,* in the present work, "In the *one case* he seems to betray the yoke of bondage, in the display of a very feeble apology; in the *other* he resumes somewhat more of his Christian liberty, and recollects the principles of his protestant faith."†

Some of the most important and successful arguments, which have been urged in reply to

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. book VI. c. 10.

† Jebb's Works vol. II. p. 126, note by the editor.

Mr. Paley's apology for the incongruities of the British constitution, are contained in a series of *Letters*, which originally appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1787, under the signature of Padilla,* and have since been re-published collectively. These *Letters* have been confidently attributed† to the same ingenious lady, who had so highly distinguished herself in the controversies about clerical subscription and academical discipline; and there is little doubt, that on the present question also, if she had engaged in it, another *Sisera*, though of a very different cast, would have been delivered into her *band*.

But, in the letter already quoted, she denies the charge, and, at the same time, thus clearly and decisively declares her own sentiments of some other defects in Mr. Paley's work. "When I express myself in general, as highly approving of Mr. Paley's writings, I would not be understood, as being exactly of his opinion upon every subject. Dr. Jebb, who, after he left the

* Gent. Mag. vol. LVII. p. 305, 374, 582, 761.

† Id. vol. LVIII. p. 99.

university, still retained his respect and friendship for him, and myself were both very sorry that he did not express himself so strongly in *his Moral Philosophy* against subscription to the *Articles*, as, from his real principles, we might have expected. And I remember that I could not quite agree with him in some cases, where he allows a deviation from truth ; particularly with respect to children : for I am convinced that there is nothing, which ought to be more strictly guarded against, than the attempt to deceive children. Deceive them in the arms of their nurses, and with reason you may expect that they will attempt to deceive you the remainder of their lives. Falsehood is, in my opinion, the chief origin of all evil : it is the grand tempter ; for how few would dare to sin, if they did not first flatter themselves that they could keep it secret by denying it. I look upon Satan, under all his titles, as falsehood personified. I recollect Dr. Jebb's having complained of the evil effects of deceiving children, when ill, by telling them the medicines were good and pleasant : for when he really wanted to have them take wine and plea-

sant nourishment, and found such nourishment absolutely necessary to preserve their lives, it was with great difficulty, having been so often deceived, that they could be persuaded to take it. I found in some Magazine, some years since, that I was suspected to be the author of an anonymous pamphlet, containing strictures on some parts of Paley's *Moral Philosophy* : but this I deny, and perhaps ought to have disavowed it in the next Magazine. I certainly did write one or two notes, and left them in the book, which was lent us to read some time before the publication ; and I really intended that the notes should be seen by Paley : but I believe they were not, and I never had an opportunity of conversing with him upon the subject."

On the death of Dr. Burn, the well known author of the *Justice of the Peace* and *Ecclesiastical Law*, November 20th 1785, Mr. Paley was appointed chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle. The chancellorship has been generally valued at one hundred pounds per annum, but there are

fees of office, which might probably make it more.

The *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* were introduced, by the late most excellent Mr. Jones, senior tutor of Trinity college, when discharging the duties of moderator in the university of Cambridge, in 1786 and 1787, as a standard book, in the disputations in the schools, and in the subsequent examination for a bachelor's degree.

The venerable bishop of Carlisle died at Rose Castle, August 14th 1787, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Mr. Paley afterwards drew up a *Short Memoir*, the only account of his *Life* hitherto given to the public, which has been inserted in *Hutchinson's History of Cumiberland* and in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and since reprinted separately, with some curious notes, by an anonymous editor, supposed to have been formerly a member of Peterhouse. A complete collection of the *Works*, accompanied with a more copious account of the *Life* of this

eminent prelate, and of the *progress of his opinions*, is, however, still a desideratum, which it is hoped some competent editor, writing under the direction of his family, may yet supply.

Whilst Mr. Paley officiated as his lordship's examining chaplain, he had noticed the usefulness of *Collyer's Sacred Interpreter*, and had recommended it to those, who were preparing for deacon's orders within the diocese of Carlisle*. As that work had now become scarce, he caused it to be republished at Carlisle in a cheap form, and annexed to it a *Short Analysis* of the book of Revelations, chiefly taken from the learned *Dissertations* of Bishop Newton, and the *Commentary* of Mr. Daubuz.

Early in 1788, Mr. Paley addressed a letter to the Committee instituted at London, in the preceding year, for effecting the abolition of the Slave trade, containing his sentiments on a plan for securing that object, as well as the manumission of slaves in the West Indies; and, with an offer of his future services, wishing suc-

* See the Advertisement prefixed to his *Ordination Sermon*:—Appendix p. 78.

cess to their laudable undertaking.* In his *Moral Philosophy*, he had already forcibly exposed the cruelty and injustice of this traffic, and the futility of any attempt to justify it on the plea of necessity, or the silence of the Christian Scriptures.† He must therefore be considered as one of the most important of those writers, by whom the public mind had been interested in favor of the oppressed Africans, before the commencement of the great contest.‡ From that time he became a strenuous advocate for the immediate abolition, and, besides corresponding with the committee, held occasional conferences with Mr. Clarkson, whenever that great and active apostle of the *cause*, in his various journeys to collect evidence, passed through Carlisle.

In the following summer, a short but interesting correspondence took place between Dr. Percival of Manchester and Mr. Paley, on sub-

* Clarkson's History of the Abolition, vol. I. p. 465.

† Book III. part ii. chap. 3.

‡ See Clarkson's History, vol. I. p. 91—94.

scription to articles of faith. Mr. Percival of St. John's college Cambridge, the eldest son of this eminent physician, though brought up a dissenter on the Arian hypothesis, and originally designed for the medical profession, was strongly inclined to take orders in the established church, but wished to settle his mind on some important topics, regarding the articles of religion, before his final decision. He had been much pleased with Mr. Paley's reasoning on *religious establishments*,* and therefore earnestly solicited, through his father, a personal conference with him, on points so interesting to his future usefulness and peace of mind. Mr. Paley, whose engagements at that time did not admit of an interview, entered, in his reply, into a further explanation of what he had advanced, in the chapter on *subscription*,† as the most practicable means of complying with the young gentleman's request. "If your son were here," he observes in concluding, "I know not that I ought to say more. In such cases it is the office of an adviser

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. book VI. c. 10.

† Idem book III. - part I. chap. 22.

to suggest general principles. The application of these principles to each person's case, must be made by the person himself, who alone knows the state of his own thoughts."*

However unsatisfactory Mr. Paley's reasoning on subscription, both in his *Moral Philosophy* and in the letter alluded to, may appear to many, it seems to have been successful in the present instance. Mr. Percival took orders in the following year, became a respectable member of his profession, and died lamented in the prime of life.†

In April 1789, when the first great discussion, in the House of Commons, on the abolition of the Slave trade was anxiously expected, and the large amount of pecuniary compensation, insisted on as indispensable by persons interested in the traffic, seemed likely to influence the disposition of the members too forcibly against the proposed abolition, Mr. Paley drew up a short treatise,

* See Appendix, p. 130—135.

† Id. p. 135—138.

entitled “ *Arguments against the unjust pretensions of Slave dealers and holders, to be indemnified by pecuniary allowances, at the public expense, in case the Slave trade should be abolished,*” and sent it to the committee, by whom the substance was detailed in the papers of the day.* It was never published entire, and, when, many years after, Mr. Clarkson sought it for that purpose, it was no longer to be found, being, as well as the rest of Mr. Paley’s correspondence, either lost or mislaid. The writer of these Memoirs regrets exceedingly that he has neither been able to procure a sight of the original manuscript, nor even to trace its substance in the public papers, where the various arguments brought forward on the occasion were indiscriminately inserted. No production of Mr. Paley’s pen can be devoid of interest, and it is hoped that this little essay, if in existence, may hereafter be presented to the world.

In the same year, when Dr. Beadon was promoted to the see of Gloucester, the mastership

* Clarkson’s History, vol. II. p. 57.

of Jesus College, Cambridge, was offered to Mr. Paley, in a very handsome manner, by the bishop of Ely (Dr. Yorke). The conduct of bishop Yorke on this occasion deserves the highest approbation, since there had been no previous connexion between the parties, and he must have been actuated solely by a wish to promote the interest of the university, and reward the merit of one of her ablest sons. The place itself, indeed, is more honorable than lucrative, but is tenable with any other preferment, and desirable in many respects. Mr. Paley, however, to the undoubted loss and regret of the whole university, declined the offer, though strongly urged to accept it by Sir John Wilson and some other friends. The motives of his refusal have never been clearly ascertained, nor is it known that he gave any reason for it, even to those with whom he was most intimate.

In 1790, Mr. Paley published his *Horæ Paulinæ, or the Truth of the Scripture History of St. Paul evinced, by a comparison of the Epistles which bear his name, with the Acts of the*

Apostles, and with one another, which he dedicated to Dr. Law, then bishop of Killalla and Achonry, in a short and affectionate address. In this, his first attempt from the press to demonstrate the authenticity of the Christian Scriptures, he shews, by a comparison of several indirect allusions and references in the *Acts and the Epistles*, that, independent of all collateral testimony, their undesigned coincidence affords the strongest proof of their genuineness, and of the reality of the transactions to which they relate. The principal circumstances in the history of St. Paul being thus established, tend, by a necessary inference, to confirm the substantial truth of what is otherwise recorded of the founder of Christianity, and to repel some of the objections on which the adversaries of that revelation so confidently rely.

This excellent treatise, though possessing perhaps more novelty of interest, and certainly more profound invention, appears to have been much less read than any other of Mr. Paley's larger works. The comparative neglect of his countrymen, however, seems not to have im-

peded its celebrity upon the continent, a translation in the German language having appeared, some years ago, at Helmstadt, illustrated with many valuable remarks from the pen of Dr. Conrad Henke.* To the learned alone, as its title may be thought to indicate, the utility of the *Horæ Paulinæ* is by no means exclusively confined. The attentive reader will find it equally gratifying and instructive; for, from the minuteness of criticism, and the ingenuity of reference, no small portion of amusement will arise. With the learned, indeed, its reputation has been long established, as well for the vigor of the execution, as for the singular originality of the design.

In the same year, at his annual visitation, Mr. Paley delivered a *Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Carlisle*, on the use and propriety of local and occasional preaching; “submitting to them,” as chancellor, “that species of counsel and exhortation, which,” he observes, “they would with more propriety, perhaps, have received from him in the character of their archdeacon,

* Analytical Review, 1797, vol. XXVI. p. 420.

if the functions of that office had remained entire." In this Charge, which was published soon after,* he strongly recommends the clergy, as a certain means of rendering their sermons both useful and interesting, to adapt them, after the example of Christ, to local circumstances, and the posture of mind prevailing amongst their hearers, as well as to times and seasons, and the occasional dispensations of Providence. But he strenuously condemns, as improper and ineffectual, all personal allusions, and the remotest reference to party transactions or political disputes: justly observing, that "the Christian preacher has no other province than that of religion and morality."

Mrs. Paley died, after a long illness, in May 1791, leaving four sons and four daughters.

In February 1792, Mr. Paley presided at a meeting of the inhabitants of Carlisle, holden for the purpose of petitioning parliament for the abolition of the Slave trade, and introduced, in an able and convincing speech, a series of spirited resolutions against this impolitic and inhuman traffic.

* *Sermons and Tracts*, p. 63—97. *Appendix*, p. 94—101.

Persons, indeed, were more conversant with the subject; and these resolutions, which became the basis of the petition afterwards presented to the House of Commons, contain a very clear and comprehensive view of the leading arguments, by which the justice and expediency of this great measure were so strenuously, and at length so successfully enforced.*

In an interview with Mr. Clarkson, soon after this meeting, he pointed out the necessity of forming, on some extensive plan, an establishment in Africa, with a view to civilize the natives. This object he seemed to have much at heart, as a debt due to a much injured people, and as one that could be practically paid. He was favorable to the idea of carrying over, from the United States of America, several little colonies of free negroes, who were able to procure certificates of their good character, and willing to go. These were to be settled, by the British government, in different parts of the country, to have grants of land, and be recognized as Bri-

* Appendix, p. 139--152.

Mr. Paley thought that the people might get some good out of the nations, in their social civilization, by adopting a civilized life. A similar plan had been already suggested by Mr. Pitt, but the idea had occurred to Mr. Paley about the same time.

Mr. Paley, at the request of the managers of the Sunday schools in Carlisle, had compiled, some years before, a small work, entitled, *The Young Christian instructed in reading, and the Principles of Religion*,* for the use of those schools. This little book, in which plain usefulness could be his only object, gave rise to a very singular charge of plagiarism, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February 1792, from Mr. Robertson, the author of a much more elegant production of the same kind. Mr. Paley, who laid no claims to originality in his compilation, except for a *Short History of Jesus Christ*, gave, in the same miscellany for April, a reply, which has been much admired as a masterpiece of neat, good-humoured refutation.†

* Sermons and Tracts, 179—268.

† Appendix, 153—161.

Tractate 7th of 1747, he was indicated to the vicarage of Biddisburgh, near Great Gaddesdon, a living worth about one hundred and forty pounds a year, on the presentation of the dean and chapter of Ely.

During the political ferment, which led to the interference of Great Britain in the war of the French revolution, Mr. Paley published a tract, entitled, *Reasons for Contentment, addressed to the laboring classes*, and re-published, as a separate *Essay*, the chapter on the *British Constitution*, from his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*;^{*} for which he has been accused of abandoning his former sentiments, and giving countenance to the delusions of the day. On an impartial examination, however, his conduct will appear perfectly consistent, and to have originated in a very fair and dispassionate view of the state of the public mind.

In his *Reasons for Contentment*,† first printed and circulated at Carlisle, and written in a strain

^{*} Book VI. c. 7. † Sermons and Tracts, p. 153—177.

X "At Carlisle, we had many reports concerning tumults and sedition. Other affairs seemed to have been so of considerable magnitude. Some few gentlemen, I understand, were disposed to favour French principles. I am exceedingly sorry to find, that Mr. Paley is as loose in his politics as he is in his religion. He has considerable influence in promoting this sort of work by

of thought habitual to him, he points out the comparative advantages which the lower classes in this country now enjoy, and the impossibility of any change conducive to their real happiness arising from political convulsions. "The change, and the only change," he observes, "to be desired, is that gradual and progressive improvement in our circumstances, which is the natural result of successful industry; when each year is something better than the last. 'This may be looked forward to, and is practicable by great numbers, in a state of public order and quiet; it is absolutely impossible in any other.'" Such calm and reasonable expostulation, expedient at all times, acquires additional credit, when contrasted with the declamatory nonsense, which a certain association of alarmists were circulating, at the same period, among the lower ranks.

The motives, which induced Mr. Paley to republish his *Essay on the British Constitution*, are clearly stated in his prefatory *Advertisement*. The thoughts of the reflecting part of the community in this country had been naturally

drawn to the constitution of their own government, by the recent revolution in France. The conduct, also, of some principal writers, on both sides of the question, had tended to excite, not only the attention, but the passions of the public; and to force the subject upon the thoughts of multitudes, whose minds would, otherwise, have been very little disposed to entertain political speculations. And yet Mr. Paley could not persuade himself, that the friends of public tranquillity had any thing to fear. The body of the British people appeared to him satisfied with their condition; intent upon their various employments; and tasting the sweets of industry and order, in the increased, and increasing gains of almost every occupation: a state of the country, which he justly deemed a strong security for its internal peace.

But since these discussions were undoubtedly become very general, he thought it expedient, that whatever any one had to propose should be proposed in a form fitted for general reading. He was therefore induced to publish his apology

for the British Constitution in a separate pamphlet ; as the work, from which it was taken, was unlikely to find its way into the hands of many who might receive advantage from the perusal. " I trust also," he adds, " that it will be a recommendation of the principles here delivered, that they were not made for the times or the occasion ; to serve any purpose or any party ; that they were committed to writing ten years ago, and under circumstances, which, if they were known, would exclude all suspicion of insincerity or design."*

Mr. Paley, indeed, in republishing this Essay, exercised the undoubted right of every Englishman, to avow his sentiments on questions of political importance, with this obvious advantage, that, whilst others wrote under the impulse of present feelings, his opinions, formed, as he declares, " upon the best consideration, which he was able to give to the subject," had been maturely digested in tranquillity and retirement,

and, amidst the discussions of a philosophical treatise, deliberately presented to the world. Interested motives could scarcely influence even the formation of the opinions, at a time, when not only the public feeling was strongly on the side of the reformers, but when several leading members of successive administrations* were avowedly favorable to their cause. Besides, Mr. Paley's apology for the present inadequate state of the representation was first published, in the very year, when a motion was made in the House of Commons for its amendment, by the first ostensible minister of the crown.†

Many years after this, when speaking of the popular societies, whose proceedings occasioned so much exaggerated and absurd alarm, and were made the pretence of so many unconstitutional encroachments on public liberty, he observed "that he did not think, *they* could be justly

* The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdown, Earl Camden, and Mr. Fox.

† Mr. Pitt.

charged, either with conspiring the destruction of the government, or with any measures that could be fairly construed treason ; though possibly a few sanguine individuals might expect, that the dissolution of the regal and aristocratic branches of the constitution would result from their eventual success. He had no doubt, however, that the real design of these societies was, what they expressly avowed in their publications, to render the influence of the people predominant, by making universal suffrage and annual elections the basis of a parliamentary reform."

A formidable opposition had for many years existed, amongst the inhabitants of Cumberland, to the proceedings of a nobleman, whose influence had been long and strenuously exerted, to controul the independence of that county, and to invalidate the elective franchises of the citizens of Carlisle. Mr. Paley entered most cordially into the spirit of this honorable opposition ; and demonstrated by his firm and manly conduct, that he was neither to be diverted, by any views of interest, nor by any frowns of feudal

authority, from supporting the cause of justice and of liberty.

Dr. Vernon,* a prelate distinguished by the most pleasing affability of manners, had succeeded, in 1790, amidst a round of ecclesiastical promotions, to the see of Carlisle. Mr. Paley vacated Dalston, March 15th 1793, on being collated, by his new diocesan, to the vicarage of Stanwix, in the more immediate neighbourhood of Carlisle, to which he was inducted on the 15th of April. Being afterwards asked, by a clerical friend, why he quitted Dalston, he answered with a frankness peculiar to him, for he knew no deceit:—"Why, Sir, I had two or three reasons for taking Stanwix in exchange: *first*, it saved me double housekeeping, as Stanwix was within a twenty minute's walk of my house in Carlisle; *secondly*, it was fifty pounds a year more in value; and *thirdly*, I began to find my stock of sermons coming over again too fast."

* Now Archbishop of York,

Mr. Paley was at this time engaged in preparing for the press his *View of the Evidences of Christianity*, which appeared early in 1794, in three volumes 12mo, and was soon after republished in two volumes 8vo. The direct *historical testimony* for the authenticity of the Christian revelation, already adduced by the indefatigable Lardner, is admirably selected and arranged in this important work: and the general argument drawn up with great clearness and felicity. The most striking of those collateral proofs of the *credibility of the gospel history*, produced by the same writer, are also here again presented, in a novel and impressive manner, and established by auxiliaries of a different kind. Mr. Paley has likewise availed himself of the labors of bishop Douglas, the pith and argument of whose great work, the *Criterion*, he has completely transferred into his own.

In considering some of the most formidable objections to Christianity, he by no means insists on the minute agreement of the sacred penmen, nor on the infallibility of the apostolic judgment,

still less on the minute accuracy of every passage, which the Jewish scriptures contain. But he strenuously contends for the substantial truth of that revelation, which, by teaching the resurrection of the dead, and a future state of rewards and punishments, has supplied motives and sanctions to human conduct, of which natural religion could hardly afford the discovery, and certainly not the proof. The animated chapter on *the morality of the gospel*,* in particular, if read with due attention, cannot fail to strike the mind of any unprejudiced person, with the excellence of that *morality*, whether he admits the divine authority of its promulgator or not. It is no small merit in this work, that it neither interferes with the principles or prejudices of any sect of Christians, nor includes as fundamental, any doctrines, on which the opinions of serious enquirers are at issue.

The most approved defences of Christianity which had hitherto appeared, being read by

* Evidences of Christianity, 5th ed. 8vo. vol. II. p. 23—64.

comparatively few, and those either professional or pious readers, served rather to confirm the faith of believers, than to convince any who were inclined to scepticism, or who had more decidedly avowed their unbelief. For the use of such persons, especially if of a candid and liberal mind, these volumes are well calculated, as contributing to render doubtful, at least, certain negative propositions on the side of infidelity, which some modern philosophers have too dogmatically assumed for true. In his dedication to the bishop of Ely, Mr. Paley expresses, in very handsome terms, his gratitude to his lordship, for the kind and disinterested offer of the mastership of Jesus college.

It had long been a reproach to the chief dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage, though certainly with some honorable exceptions, that so comparatively small a portion of preferment, in a very opulent establishment, had been bestowed on so deserving a divine. The ministers of the crown had neglected the instructive moralist, and the bench of bishops seemed almost equally

inattentive to the theologian, who had supplied so new and so satisfactory a demonstration of the authenticity of the Epistles of St. Paul.

Mr. Paley's successive services to morality, good government, and religion, ought surely to have secured him the patronage of those, who are officially interested in promoting the public welfare; and it is difficult to conjecture on what grounds that patronage was so totally withheld. Mr. Pitt, however, who has few claims to be regarded as the friend of genius or of literature, is said to have entertained a very high opinion of his merit and abilities, and to have once thought of promoting him (in 1792) to the vacant deanery of Carlisle. But whether the claims of Dr. Milner, as master of Queen's college, Cambridge, on the high steward and representative of that university, or the hostile interference of some other interest, then prevented his promotion, it is much to be lamented, that the intentions of the premier should to him have proved fruitless, and the rays of ministerial favor beamed altogether unproductively. It has, in-

dead, been frequently suggested, that the promotion of Mr. Paley was impeded, by the freedom of his manner in the story of the pigeons;* by his liberal construction of the oath of allegiance;† by his assertion that *government may be too secure*;‡ by his judicious limitation of the duty of civil obedience;§ by his argument that the obligation of subjects and sovereigns is reciprocal;|| by his just and striking remark, that the divine right of *kings* is like the divine right of *constables*;** and still more by his enlightened views of religious establishments and toleration.†† The intention of the writer in these passages was not perhaps

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. B. III. pt. I. c. 1.

† Id. B. III. pt. I. c. 18.

‡ Id. 4to. p. 411; 8vo. vol. II. p. 127.

§ Id. 4to. p. 424; 8vo. vol. II. p. 142.

|| Id. 4to. p. 434; 8vo. vol. II. p. 155.

** Id. 4to. p. 440. "The divine right of *Kings* is, like the divine right of *Constables*,—the law of the land, or even actual and quiet possession of their office; a right, ratified, we humbly presume, by the divine approbation, so long as obedience to their authority appears to be necessary or conducive to the common welfare." This remark is somewhat differently worded in the later editions. 8vo. vol. II. p. 162.

†† Id. book VI. chap. 10.

so much arraigned, as a mischievous tendency imputed to what he had written. His principles have been thought to lead to more extensive conclusions, than he himself was willing to pursue. The boldness of his general reasoning, therefore, was not to be forgiven, and certainly not to be honored, by the predominant party of his day.

After the publication of the *Evidences of Christianity*, however, any further forbearance on the part of the great episcopal patrons was scarcely possible. Whatever subordinate difference of opinion might be supposed to distinguish the creed of Mr. Paley from that of some of his more dignified brethren,* his merit, as a defender of the Christian Revelation, was indisputable, and too prominent to be neglected at so critical a time. Superficial readers had been dazzled by the splendid sophistries of Volney, and deluded by the imposing boldness of Paine. The whole hierarchy of a church, thus attacked in its very

* See Natural Theology, Dedication, p. viii.

foundations by the champions of infidelity, and so amply provided with the means of remunerating its defenders, could not, therefore, overlook the well-timed publication of a work, popular in its execution, in which the truth and authenticity of the scriptures were so ably enforced: hence, the services of Mr. Paley were at length crowned with a liberal, but well-earned, and by no means excessive reward,

The bishop of London, Dr. Porteus, a contemporary fellow of Christ's college, and a defender of the *Truth and Divine Origin of the Christian Revelation*,* took the lead, and instituted him, August 4th 1794, to the prebend of Pancras, in the cathedral of St. Paul's. These prebends are, for the most part, very small; but some few of them (and, amongst others, that to which Mr. Paley was appointed,) are more valuable, though the value cannot be easily estimated, as it chiefly arises from fines. Besides, it was tenable with any other preferment, and, having

* See Porteus's Tracts, p. 427—530.

no specific duties annexed to it, did not require his residence in London.

Soon after this, he was promoted to the sub-deanery of Lincoln, a preferment of about seven hundred pounds a year, by Dr. Pretyman, bishop of that diocese, who, being allowed the disposal of his vacated prebend in the cathedral church of Carlisle, conferred it on his old friend, Mr. William Sheepshanks, his lordship's private tutor at college. Mr. Paley was installed, as subdean, in the cathedral church of Lincoln, January 24th 1795, and from thence proceeded to Cambridge, to take his degree of doctor in divinity. As he was now a master of arts of more than twelve years standing, and a non-gremial, the intermediate degree of bachelor in divinity was dispensed with; and no other exercises were required of him by the laws of the university, but a *Concio ad Clerum* and an English Sermon. He preached his *Clerum* in February, and on this occasion, as he was no poet, and little skilled in Latin prosody, he unfortunately pronounced the word *profugus*,

profugus; a blunder which gave rise to the following epigram from one of the university wits :

“ Italiam fato *profugus*, Laviniaque venit
Litora.”

Errat Virgilius forte *profugus* erat.

A similar mistake is recorded of Mr. Burke, who having somewhere pronounced the word *vectigal*, *vectigal*, was delicately corrected for his error by Lord North.*

Before he left Cambridge, Mr. Paley was surprized by a letter from the bishop of Durham, Dr. Barrington, with whom he was not previously acquainted, offering him the valuable rectory of Bishop-Wearmouth, estimated at about one thousand two hundred pounds a year. When he waited upon his new patron, in the metropolis, soon after, and began to express his gratitude, his lordship thus abruptly interrupted his acknowledgements : “ Not one word more of this, sir, be assured that you cannot have greater pleasure in accepting the living of

* Bisset's Life of Burke, vol. II. p. 235.

Bishop-Wearmouth, than I have in offering it to you." The unsolicited patronage of this eminent moralist, was, indeed, in every respect, worthy of the son of Viscount Barrington, the disciple of Locke, and one of the most strenuous advocates for religious liberty, in his own, or any other age.*

Besides these distinguished prelates, who conferred new preferments on Mr. Paley, the bishop and dean and chapter of Carlisle must be recorded, as his substantial patrons at this time. The bishop not only readily acquiesced in transferring the presentation of his vacated prebend to the bishop of Lincoln, but afterwards resigned, to the

* It is much to be lamented, that the *Works* of this liberal and enlightened nobleman should have been so much neglected, and never collectively republished. The bishop of Durham, indeed, many years ago, re-published the *Miscellanea Sacra*, with improvements, but it is now very difficult to procure it. By a new edition, not only of that, but of all the noble author's *writings*, with a satisfactory account of his life, character, and opinions, his lordship would not only confer an important benefit on posterity, but erect a durable monument, as honorable to himself, as to the memory of his father.

bishop of Durham, the disposal of Stanwix ; to whom also the dean and chapter gave up their right to Addingham. Bishop Vernon, indeed, is said to have previously told Mr. Paley, that he might so transfer any preferments which he held in the diocese of Carlisle, as he had no other means of serving him.

After reading himself in, as a prebend, at St. Paul's Cathedral, March 8th, Dr. Paley, for he now assumed that title, immediately proceeded to Bishop-Wearmouth, and took possession of his valuable cure. He was inducted, March 14th, by Mr. Farrer, the highly respectable rector of Sunderland, with whom he had been many years acquainted, and who, resigning that rectory soon after, succeeded him in the vicarage of Stanwix. The rectory house at Bishop-Wearmouth is one of the best parsonages in the kingdom, and, with the out-offices and adjacent grounds, had been left by the last incumbent in a very improved state. Dr. Paley was, therefore, highly pleased, on viewing the premises, and had, indeed, good reason to rejoice in his present ad-

vantageous change. Having resigned the chancellorship, the last of those preferments which required his residence in the diocese of Carlisle, he removed from a vicinity, where he had so long distinguished himself, by his upright, independent conduct, and gained the esteem and respect of all, to whom he was personally known.

He returned to Cambridge against the commencement, to complete his doctor's degree, and on Sunday July 5th, preached before the university, his *Sermon on the Dangers incidental to the clerical character*, which he published, soon after, with a short dedication to the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, as a testimony of affection and respect. * Amongst these dangers, Dr. Paley particularly specifies the insensibility to religious impressions, resulting from frequent repetition, to which all clergymen are subject, in the discharge of their professional duties; and the moral debility, to which men of learning are too often exposed, from a secluded contemplative life. He strongly

* Sermons and Tracts, 99—125. Appendix, 102—103.

warns the clergy against being actuated by any secondary considerations, by that of *setting an example* for instance, and admonishes them to remember, that, in their religious offices, they have not only to pronounce, to excite, to conduct the devotion of their congregations, but to pay to God the adoration which themselves owe to him ; in a word, to save their own souls by their own religion." An elegant epitome of this impressive discourse has been recently published in the works of Dr. Percival, accompanied with some valuable supplementary remarks.*

Dr. Paley returned to Bishop-Wearmouth, almost immediately after completing his degree, having been appointed to preach the Assize Sermon, in the cathedral church of Durham, on the 29th of the same month, before the lord bishop of that diocese, and the judges on the northern circuit. For the three preceding years, not only in this, but in every quarter of the kingdom, the pulpit had resounded, on all such occasions, with all the furor of alarm, and all the virulence

*Percival's Works, vol. I. p. 306—315; App. p. 108—110.

of party. The rector of Bishop-Wearmouth, true to his own maxim, "that the Christian preacher has no other province than that of religion and morality,"* pursued a wiser and more useful plan. Avoiding, therefore, all allusion to mere temporary topics, he delivered to a crowded and admiring audience, which the celebrity of his name had assembled, an excellent discourse on the general duties of mankind, from this short but very appropriate text—"For none of us liveth to himself." Romans, xiv. 7.

In this *Sermon*, which was published, with a neat and well-turned dedication to the bishop of Durham,† the preacher, who, from a provincial press, in a former year, had addressed *Reasons for Contentment* to the laboring classes of society, now, in turn, from the pulpit of a cathedral, inculcates the duties of those in more elevated situations. In doing this, he reprobates the language, so familiar to the higher ranks from their infancy, "that they are placed above work," as a

* Charge : see above, p. 102 ; Appendix, p. 95.

† *Sermons and Tracts*, p. 127—151 ; Appen. p. 111—118.

pernicious maxim, the direct tendency of which is to produce idleness in one portion of mankind, and envy in the other: asserting, on the contrary, that "every man has his work," he points out, and powerfully urges, the peculiar obligations which belong to wealth and station; and concludes with a vigorous, and even eloquent description of the functions and character of a jury, in a free country like this.

Soon after Dr. Paley's establishment at Bishop-Wearmouth, some of the principal land owners in that parish, wishing to remove even the probability of future dispute, offered him an annual compensation for the tythes. As, upon inspecting the accounts of his predecessor, he found this proposal, to all appearance, fair and equitable, he readily acquiesced, and granted them a lease for his life; and thus, by sacrificing any eventual interest of his own in the agricultural improvement of the parish, avoided one great source of disquietude and vexation. As a writer, he had already reprobated tythes, as "noxious to cultivation and improvement," and recommended

“their conversion into corn-rents, as a practicable and beneficial alteration, in which the interest of all parties might be equitably adjusted;” and he now acted in strict conformity to these principles, “leaving to the industry of his parishioners, its full operation and entire reward.”* By this agreement, the lessees were generally enabled to return from sixpence to eighteen-pence in the pound, on the annual amount of the great tythes, to those who were punctual in their payments, whilst they seldom attended much to the small. Dr. Paley, on the other hand, found himself perfectly at ease by this arrangement, and, when he heard of a bad crop, used to say—“Aye, aye, now, I am well off; my tythes are safe, and I have nothing to do with them, or to think about them.”

He also granted long leases of his glebe lands, and particularly of a limestone quarry to the old tenant, upon very moderate terms. From the great rise in landed property, which took place

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. 4to. p. 635, 636; Svo. vol. II. p. 406.
-407.

immediately after, his tenants had very advantageous bargains : a circumstance to which he sometimes, indeed, alluded in conversation, but without the least marks of dissatisfaction or regret.

Dr. Paley was married, December 14th 1795, to Miss Dobinson of Carlisle, a lady with whose worth he was well acquainted, from an intimacy of several years. Soon after his marriage, he set out for Lincoln, where, as subdean, he was obliged to reside three months annually, at the commencement of the year. Between this city and Bishop-Wearmouth he now principally divided his time, making occasional excursions into Craven and Cumberland on his route.

He visited a good deal amongst his neighbours, both at Lincoln and Bishop-Wearmouth, and entertained company in a handsome, but by no means ostentatious style. He frequently mixed in card parties, and was considered a skilful player at whist ; but he would, at all times, readily forego the game for conversation with an intelligent

companion. A lady once observed to him, at a card-table at Lincoln, "that the only excuse for their playing was that it served to kill time." — "The best defence possible, madam," replied he, "though time will in the end kill us."

The bishop of Elphin was amongst the foremost of Dr. Paley's friends, who visited him at Bishop-Wearmouth; and Mr. Edward Law, when his own engagements, as a leading counsel on the northern circuit, allowed of it, occasionally favored him with a passing call. Besides, these and others of his earlier associates, he was frequently visited by distinguished travellers, on the introduction of some common friend. A more than ordinary concourse of strangers were, about this time, attracted into the neighbourhood of Bishop-Wearmouth, partly by the stationing of a large body of troops in the barracks at Sunderland, and partly by the recent erection of the celebrated iron bridge.

From the door of the park, which leads from the rectory house to the banks of the river Wear,

Dr. Paley could give his visitors a striking view of this elegant structure, with every advantage of surprise. He appears, indeed, to have been highly pleased with the prospect himself, and to have paid particular attention to the construction of the arch, which he introduces very happily, by way of illustration, in one of the latest and most popular of his works.*

At the request of the bishop of Durham, who is also *custos rotulorum* of the county, Dr. Paley undertook to act in the commission of the peace; for which he was equally well qualified, by his talents for close investigation, and by his knowledge of the criminal law. As a local magistrate, however, he has been censured, though perhaps unjustly, as hasty and irascible. Accusations of this nature are frequently preferred against men of clear and comprehensive intellect, when engaged in the examination of petty causes, which the folly, the ignorance, or the knavery of the parties, or their witnesses, alone render difficult or complex. For the warmth which men of ge-

* See Natural Theology, p. 111.

nus and principle may sometimes betray in such situations, great allowances should be always made ; for superiority in talent and in virtue, is usually accompanied with an energy of feeling, which common characters neither possess, nor appreciate.

Being of opinion that habits of intemperance, the bad effects of which he had strongly exposed in his *Moral Philosophy*,* were much increased and encouraged by the unnecessary accumulation of taverns, public houses, and dram shops, Dr. Paley attempted not only to diminish the magnitude of the evil, in his own neighbourhood, by a greater discrimination in granting licences, but once earnestly addressed the bench of justices on the subject, at the quarter-sessions ; but, being feebly supported by the other magistrates, and actually discountenanced by the community, his efforts were ineffectual, though originating in the most virtuous motives, and unquestionably directed to the public good.

* Book IV. chap. 2.

Yet whenever he attended the quarter-sessions, his opinions commanded deference and respect. His penetration and sagacity there acquired a wider field of action, and his marked, though somewhat singular questions at times produced an answer, which at once involved the issue of the cause.

The parents of Dr. Paley both lived to witness his high reputation and success in life. His mother died in March 1796:—his father, whose prophetic anticipations had been so fully confirmed, in September 1799, after having taught the school at Giggleswick for more than half a century. He had been vicar of Helpeston sixty four years, which induced his son to suppose him the oldest beneficed clergyman in the kingdom. A small brass plate, with the following brief inscription, marks the place of their interment, about the middle of Giggleswick church,

Here lie interred,
the REV. WILLIAM PALEY, B. A.
fifty-four years
Master of this Free-School,

who died Sep. 29, 1799,

aged 88 years ;

also

ELIZABETH,

wife of the REV. WILLIAM PALEY,

who died March 9, 1796,

aged 83 years.

On the sudden elevation of Bonaparte to the supreme direction of affairs in the French republic, Dr. Paley observed, to a party of gentlemen, who dined with him at Bishop-Wearmouth, a few days after the first intelligence of that extraordinary event—"The French are rapidly approaching to absolute monarchy again:—the conventional government was established on a very broad basis, which has been narrowed on every subsequent alteration, and is progressively tending to a point." In allusion to the various actors, who had successively filled the busy scene, in that distracted country, from the commencement of the revolution, he still more forcibly remarked—"In similar convulsions, none can ultimately succeed in bearing sway, but men of

great intrepidity, great ability, and great roguery. Without great intrepidity, no man will intentionally venture upon so hazardous a career; without great ability, no man can get forward; and without great roguery, no man can bring his designs to a successful close.”*

In reference to the discussions, which took place in 1799 and 1800, about the Coldbath-fields’ prison, Dr. Paley once explicitly declared —“ That the magistrates of Hicks’s Hall were by no means proper persons to be intrusted with

* The truth of this opinion is strongly confirmed by the numerous instances of outrage and perfidy recorded of those bold and able men, who, in various ages of the world, have assumed the tyranny, or unauthorized sovereignty of free states. The unvarying maxims of their pernicious policy have been forcibly depicted by Aristotle, in the seventh book of his *Politics*; and again, with a far greater detail of evidence, by the much calumniated Machiavelli, in his *Prince*;—a writer who has been unjustly stigmatized, as the advocate of a system, of which he has only portrayed the effects; and whose excellent *Discourses*, derived from the experience of his own and former ages, can scarcely be too much studied or admired, particularly in those passages where he perspicuously unfolds the causes of many recent disappointments in continental affairs.†

† Discorsi, lib. II. cap. 25, 31; lib. III. cap. 11.

the exclusive power of examining into and controlling the conduct of Governor Aris; since they were salaried officers like himself; that the inquiry moved for was, in his opinion, no party question, but one which deserved to be very seriously considered; and that, for his part, he had always thought Sir Francis Burdett right in persevering to agitate the subject, for, by such continued exertions, he must ultimately succeed in correcting the abuse."

In 1800, Dr. Paley was attacked at Bishop-Wearmouth, by a violent *nephralgic* complaint, accompanied with a species of *melæna*, which obliged him, soon after, to forego the active discharge of his professional duties. He experienced a renewed attack, during his residence at Lincoln, in the following spring, which did not, however, prevent him from returning to the north, at the usual time.

In allusion to the *act*, passed in the first session of the Imperial Parliament, in 1801, for disabling all persons who had taken orders from sitting in

the House of Commons, Dr. Paley remarked—
 “ That, in his opinion, the exclusion was just, so far as those only were concerned, who held ecclesiastical preferments, and had clerical duties to discharge : but he could see no satisfactory reason, why the provisions of the *act* should extend to such as had given up all pretensions to the honors and emoluments of the church.” His sentiments on this subject seem to have coincided with what was urged, so pertinently and so forcibly, against the measure, during its discussion in the two Houses, by Lord Thurlow and Mr. Horne Tooke.

In the summer of this year (1801), Dr. Paley held a visitation of the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle, officiating as chancellor for his friend Professor Carlyle, who having accompanied the Earl of Elgin in his embassy to Constantinople, in 1799, had been since actively engaged in literary travels and researches in the Levant. Dr. Paley was highly gratified with the correspondence of his friend, during this interesting tour ; “ the remarks of a sensible man, on foreign

countries, being always," as he said, "worth attending to, especially when written on the spot." In the autumn of this year, he was visited by the intelligent traveller himself, at Bishop-Wearmouth, immediately after his return; when, besides every other object of rational curiosity, Dr. Paley could scarcely fail to be interested, in the advantages, which might accrue to biblical and general literature, from the researches and projects of his friend.*

About the same time, he was visited by Mr. Mackintosh, the celebrated author of *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*,† with a letter of introduction from Sir Edward Law. The fascinating powers of conversation, by which this gentleman is so highly distinguished, and the curious information which he was able to communicate, particularly about

* J. D. Carlyle, B. D. professor of Arabic in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards vicar of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, died April 12th 1864, when engaged in preparing a correct edition of the *Arabic Bible*, and one of the *Greek Testament*, in a new and improved form, from the collation of various manuscripts, procured in different parts of the Levant.

† Now Sir James Mackintosh, recorder of Bombay.

the great historical design of Mr. Fox,* amply rewarded the hospitality of Dr. Paley, and left on his mind a strong impression of the talents of his accomplished guest.

In the park behind the rectory-house, Dr. Paley used frequently to take exercise on horse-back, for the benefit of his health ; which circumstance gave rise to a pleasant story, currently told in the neighbourhood, and which he himself is said to have related with his wonted *naivete'*. Some wag, who knew him well in all likelihood, one morning wrote upon the door of the park, "FEATS OF HORSEMANSHIP HERE EVERY DAY, BY AN EMINENT PERFORMER:" and two or three weeks after, "ADDITIONAL FEATS, FOR A FEW DAYS ONLY, BY A NEW PERFORMER

* *A History of the early Part of the Reign of James II*, comprising all that was completed of this great design, has been recently presented to the world : a production in every respect worthy of its author, and a most valuable addition to the historical literature of his country, as well from the important period, however small, which it illustrates, as from the rare specimen of authentic investigation which it affords.

FROM IRELAND ;"—the bishop of Elphin had arrived, and was expected to ride out in company with him.

A violent return of his complaint, before Christmas, prevented Dr. Paley from keeping his annual residence at Lincoln, in 1802. The writer of these *Memoirs* had, at that time, occasionally the honor of passing an hour with him, by invitation, during some of his intervals of freedom from excruciating pain. His mind was still calm and vigorous, his vivacity unimpaired, and he conversed with his usual energy on various topics. The recent execution of a military governor for murder, the result of excessive punishment in the island of Goree, being then a subject of general attention, he expressed great satisfaction, at the very able manner in which his friend Sir Edward Law, the attorney-general, had conducted the prosecution. The capital punishment of some unfortunate seamen for mutiny, a few weeks before, on board the channel fleet, being mentioned, as a probable reason why the powerful intercession made in

favor of Colonel Wall had not been attended to, he replied: "Since the discipline of the *navy* and *army* require that the *men* shall be *hanged* or *shot* for *mutiny* or *desertion*, it is very fit that the officers be punished with equal severity, for those cruelties, by which *mutiny* and *desertion* are too often caused.*"

In May, when he was so far recovered, as to bear the fatigues of travelling, Dr. Paley was induced to try the Buxton waters, by the advice of his physician, Dr. Clark of Newcastle, who, himself afflicted with a violent disorder, soon after followed him to that place. There they were joined by Dr. Currie of Liverpool, who met Dr. Clark by appointment, and who had been previously acquainted with Dr. Paley at Carlisle. The meeting of these distinguished characters, each suffering from the progress of a fatal malady, yet still retaining, unimpaired, their intellectual vigor, has been already very forcibly de-

* See Mor. and Pol. Phil. 4to. p. 535, 536; 8vo. vol. II, p. 279, 280.

scribed. Dr. Fenwick of Durham, in his interesting *Sketch of the professional Life and Character of Dr. Clark*, after celebrating the fortitude of his medical friends, under the severest trials, proceeds to give the following just and striking view of the superiority of Dr. Paley's mind over mere bodily sufferings:—

“ That truly eminent man was then engaged in finishing his *Natural Theology*; but the completion of that great undertaking was frequently interrupted by severe accessions of a painful disorder, under which he had long labored, and which has since proved fatal. Dr. Clark often expressed his admiration at the fortitude with which he bore the most painful attacks, and at the readiness, and even cheerfulness, with which, on the first respite from pain, he resumed his literary labors. When it is considered that the twenty sixth chapter of his work was written under these circumstances, what he has said of the *alleviations of pain* acquires additional weight. It is not a philosopher in the full enjoyment of health, who talks lightly of an evil which he may sup-

pose at a distance. When Dr. Paley speaks of the power which pain has “*of shedding a satisfaction over intervals of ease, which few enjoyments exceed ;*” and assures us, “*that a man resting from severe pain, is, for the time, in possession of feelings which undisturbed health cannot impart,*”^{*} the sentiment flowed from his own feelings. He was himself that man; and it is consolatory, amidst the numerous diseases to which the human frame is liable, to find how compatible they are with a certain degree of comfort, and even enjoyment. Something may indeed be attributed, in Dr. Paley, to a vigor of intellect, which is allotted to very few; but it cannot be doubted, that resignation in suffering is less the gift of great intellectual powers, than of well regulated religious and moral sentiments.”

The waters at Buxton having effected a partial restoration of his health, Dr. Paley returned to Bishop-Wearmouth after an absence of two months.

^{*} Natural Theology, p. 532.

Soon after this he published his *Natural Theology; or, Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, collected from the Appearances of Nature*: a discussion, which he had undertaken, on the suggestion of the bishop of Durham, and amongst other reasons, as appears from the dedication to his lordship, that he might repair in his study, his unavoidable deficiencies in the church, and make up his Works into a comprehensive system of religion and morality. In the choice of his title, he was probably guided by Lord Bacon;* and, like the amiable Fenelon,† he has adopted a popular, in preference to a metaphysical mode of demonstration, sacrificing, for the sake of common readers, the fame which he might otherwise have acquired among the learned. Improving on the manner, as well as on the extent of matter, in the treatises of Ray‡ and Derham,§ and profiting by the labors of Ed-

* De Augmentis Scientiarum, lib. III. cap. 2.

† Demonstration of the Existence of God.

‡ Wisdom of God in the Works of Creation.

§ Physico and Astro-Theology.

wards* and Cheyne;† he has taken an interesting survey of the universe, and of animated nature, which every where display such convincing marks of benevolent and wise design. Hence Dr. Paley infers the existence and supremacy of an intelligent creator; and, also, the personality, unity, and goodness of this almighty Being. He has selected the structure of man, as affording the most decisive evidence of contrivance, from the curious mechanism in which it every where abounds. Yet he never wearies the understanding, or overwhelms the faculty of admiration with a multitude of proofs,‡ but, by a masterly view and description of the human frame, and a more minute analysis of some of its constituent parts, happily chosen and illustrated, he supports, far more effectually, his great

* *Demonstration of the Existence and Providence of God.*

† *Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion.*

‡ This is the very fault which Dr. Paley's favorite author, Abraham Tucker, finds with the *Physico-theology of Derham*; and it, perhaps, applies with equal force to a great majority of writers on the subject.—See *Light of Nature Pursued*, 2nd Ed. vol. V. p. 205.

argument, and strikes the stamp of conviction on the reader's mind.

Students of anatomy have, indeed, questioned the accuracy of some parts of Dr. Paley's delineation of the human body, arising from his having consulted the earlier,* rather than the later authorities, in a science so much extended by the skill and ingenuity of its modern professors. But since every new discovery is found only to afford a proof of still more delicate contrivance, his great design and aim is, by the detection of subordinate inaccuracies, yet farther advanced; while his reputation as a philosopher and theologian remains unimpaired. His *Natural Theology*, therefore, may be safely recommended, as altogether the very best manual of theism hitherto produced; as a work, "in which," to use the words of an ingenious and most useful religious instructor, "one knows not which to admire most, the judicious selection of instances, the happy arrangement of the materials, the appropriate naturalness of the style, the skilful management of the general argu-

* Keil and Cheselden.

ment, the good-humoured but decisive confutation of the several atheistic schemes, or the impressive and weighty reflections contained in his general conclusion.”*

Dr. Paley passed a few days with the bishop of Durham, at his palace in that city, during the assizes in 1802, when Lord Ellenborough, whose abilities as an advocate had been so long pre-eminent on the northern circuit, appeared there as lord chief justice of the Court of King's Bench. In congratulating the newly appointed judge on his late rapid advancement, Dr. Paley is reported to have said, “Your lordship has risen higher and sooner than any man of whom I have lately heard, except M. Garnerin,” alluding to the celebrated French aeronaut, who was at that time astonishing the inhabitants of London.

An old clergyman, dining one of these days at the palace, is said to have gravely asserted, that, though he had been married almost forty

* See *A Sketch of Lectures on the Evidences of Wisdom and Goodness in the Works of the Creator*, by William Turner, 18mo, Newcastle, 1808.

years, he had never had the slightest difference with his wife. The bishop, pleased at this rare instance of connubial felicity, was, perhaps, on the very point of a compliment, when Dr. Paley archly exclaimed,—“Dont you think, my lord, it must have been very flat?”

During the cry of invasion, which followed the renewal of hostilities with France, in 1803, a young man, residing in the neighbourhood of Sunderland, without any regular introductions or apparent object, fell under the suspicion of being a spy. The rumour quickly spread, and obtained so much credit, that the General of Division, commanding in that neighbourhood, became seriously alarmed, and applied to Dr. Paley for a warrant to apprehend him, at a very late hour of the night. The prudent magistrate, however, not easily imposed on by so vague a story, saw at once the indelicacy of arresting, at such an unseasonable hour, a stranger against whom no overt act could be adduced; but on the following day, when the General and his suite were invited to a conference on the business, sent him

a civil message to attend. The young man immediately appeared, and by a ready, though confidential disclosure of his name and circumstances, soon convinced the whole party, that the public had no cause of apprehension, since his present concealment originated solely in a domestic misunderstanding. Dr. Paley, indeed, was so much pleased with his good sense and apparent ingenuousness, that he immediately offered him any pecuniary or other assistance, which he might in his present circumstances require; advising him, at the same time, to a speedy reconciliation with his family. But had the information been laid before a hasty or officious magistrate, an unoffending stranger, whose innocence was afterwards sufficiently evinced, might have been exposed to very great inconvenience, from a truly ridiculous report.

Dr. Paley resigned the archdeaconry of Carlisle and the rectory of Great Salkeld in 1804. In the month of May, soon after his arrival at Bishop-Wearmouth, he received a hasty call from Dr. Currie, when on his return from an excursion

into Scotland, undertaken with some hopes of impeding the progress of an alarming and fatal disease.

Though the general state of his own health rendered caution indispensable, Dr. Paley was not at this time debarred from his favorite recreations, by any very violent attacks. Amongst other sources of amusement, therefore, he attended some of Mr. Thelwall's lectures on elocution, delivered at Sunderland in the autumn of this year. It could not but to him appear preposterous, to decline, as many did, attending these lectures, on account of the political conduct of the lecturer some years before: for surely no man, however wrong he may have been in one part of his life, ought to be prevented from afterwards employing his talents in any laudable pursuit. When this circumstance was casually mentioned to Dr. Paley, he replied, "Why, sir, I did not go there particularly as the patron of Mr. Thelwall, I went to amuse myself; but I do think that it was worth the money, merely to see a man who

had been tried for his life, on a charge of high-treason."

He still retained his predilection for theatrical amusements, especially when any eminent performer from the metropolis appeared upon a neighbouring stage. In a provincial theatre he always seated himself as near as possible to the front of the centre box. Conversing about the character of *Falstaff*, as delineated by Shakspeare, he remarked, "That amongst actors it was frequently misunderstood: he was a courtier of the age he lived in; a man of vivacity, humour, and wit; a great reprobate, but no buffoon."

Literature was an invariable source of recreation to him; and he was in the habit of giving his opinion freely on the most eminent productions of the day. He had long indulged himself in desultory reading, which, however dangerous in the early stages of education, is well adapted to improve a mature and vigorous understanding, where each new acquisition finds a

ready arrangement. "A reader," he observes, in his admired remarks on *human happiness*, "who has inured himself to books of science and argumentation, if a novel, a well written pamphlet, an article of news, a narrative of a curious voyage, or the journal of a traveller, fall in his way, sits down to the repast with relish; enjoys his entertainment while it lasts, and can return, when it is over, to his graver reading without distaste. Another, with whom nothing will go down but works of humour and pleasantry, or whose curiosity must be interested by perpetual novelty, will consume a bookseller's window in half a forenoon; during which time he is rather in search of diversion than diverted; and as books to his taste are few, and short, and rapidly read over, the stock is soon exhausted, when he is left without resource from this principal supply of innocent amusement."*

By blending scientific enquiries, therefore, with general literature, Dr. Paley was never de-

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. b. I. ch. 6. 4to. p. 33; 8vo. vol. I. p. 38.

prived of this resource, but seems to have continued anxious in the pursuit of knowledge to the last.

He was totally unacquainted with *Chemistry*, before the publication of Dr. Black's *Lectures*; yet no sooner were they recommended to him, as containing a satisfactory account of many important discoveries, than he entered upon the perusal of them with ardour, and seemed highly delighted with the contents. Dr. Currie's *Medical Reports*, as published with the author's last improvements, were also amongst the books of science, with which he was about this time engaged.

Mr. Malthus's *Essay on Population* had recently thrown new light on a subject, which Dr. Paley had himself discussed with his usual acuteness,* before the important facts, by which this author's great argument is supported, had been so minutely examined. But he now spoke with much approbation of the ability displayed in this

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. b. VI. ch. 11.

Essay, in opposition to the common notion, that an increase of inhabitants is invariably beneficial.

He was also much pleased with the perusal of Mr. Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*; a book in which, he said, the author had collected, from rare and scattered sources, a mass of very curious information concerning an important age: for he was not himself one of those fastidious critics, who, on account of some minor defects of plan or execution, would under-rate the merits of a truly valuable work.

But he was not so readily inclined to overlook defects of greater moment, even in works of acknowledged celebrity. He animadverted, therefore, with some severity, on the very unsatisfactory account of Sir William Jones's political conduct and sentiments, which is given by his biographer, Lord Teignmouth. "He was a great republican when I knew him," said Dr. Paley; alluding to a period when the accomplished barrister was distinguishing himself, by his writings in defence of civil liberty, and by his exertions to procure some important reforms in

the British constitution. The principles which he then avowed so decidedly, he certainly never afterwards disclaimed: and his sentiments on questions of great public importance ought neither to be extenuated nor withheld. He might be justly deemed a republican, in the literal acceptance of that term; for, uninfluenced by any selfish motives, he seems, through life, to have devoted his labors to advance the essential interests of the community. Such men are the benefactors of their species, and the appointment of Sir William Jones, to a high judicial situation in India, was probably the greatest blessing ever conferred, by the British government, on the inhabitants of the East.

Dr. Paley still entered into the pleasures of society with his wonted zest; and his conversation was as animated and impressive as ever, when the present writer saw him, for the last time, in December 1804. His valuable life was then drawing fast towards a close; and the powers of nature, gradually exhausted by repeated sufferings, were becoming daily less able to re-

sist the force of his inveterate disease. Yet he kept his annual residence at Lincoln in 1805, and returned to Bishop-Wearmouth about the beginning of May. Soon after his arrival there, he experienced a most violent attack, in which the usual remedies were found ineffectual. Human skill was therefore vain. his appetite failing him, he was no longer able to take the requisite support ; but soon sunk under the accumulated influence of debility and disease. His sight is supposed to have failed a few days before his death, whilst his other faculties remained unimpaired. Perhaps no man ever preserved greater self-possession and composure, during his concluding scene. The evening of his life was clouded with no displeasing recollections, no vain anxieties, no fond regrets : he had enjoyed the blessings of this world with satisfaction ; and he relied for future happiness on the promises of that divine revelation, the truth of which he had so strenuously labored to evince. He consequently met the approach of death with firmness, comforted his afflicted family with the consolations of religion,

and late on the evening of Saturday, May 25th 1805, he tranquilly breathed his last.

His remains were conveyed to Carlisle, attended by his two elder sons, and buried on Tuesday the 4th of June, in one of the aisles of the cathedral, by the side of his first wife. No monument has been as yet erected there, though it is understood that an inscription has been already prepared, for the purpose, by one of his learned friends. Some gentlemen in the parish of Bishop-Wearmouth have it also in contemplation, to bear testimony to his merits, by a handsome monument in their church: and it is hoped that the nation at large, which has been so highly benefitted by his writings, will not be backward in some public tribute of respect.

In person, Dr. Paley was above the common size, and rather inclined to corpulence in his latter years. The expression of his countenance is well delineated in Mr. Romney's exquisite portrait of him, taken after he was appointed archdeacon of Carlisle.

Dr. Paley is understood to have left a very competent fortune amongst his family: for though he had never levied the utmost value of his preferments, and had always lived in a style suitable to his station, he had been through life, to use his own phrase; *an economist upon a plan*.*

His eldest son, Mr. William Paley, a graduate of Pembroke college, Cambridge, after distinguishing himself as third wrangler, was elected a travelling bachelor in 1802, and gained the first members' prizes in the two succeeding years. Since that time he has been called to the bar by the honorable society of Lincoln's-Inn, and attends the northern circuit. His second son, Mr. Edmund Paley, a graduate of Queen's college, Oxford, is intended for the clerical profession. Mrs. Paley, who returned soon after his death to Carlisle, still resides there with a part of his family.

* Visitation Sermon: see Appendix, p. 80.

AS a divine, the great aim of Dr. Paley's labors was to maintain the authority of the gospel, as an authentic revelation, and to enforce the practice of virtue by the sanctions of a future life. His views of Christianity, at once cheering and enlightened, were in strict unison with the benevolent spirit of its founder, which appears to have been too much forgotten amidst the animosities of contending sects. The pure religion of the gospel has, indeed, been too frequently obscured by ordinances of mere human appointment; and yet, by its influence on public opinion, or on private conduct, it has been the source of virtue and happiness to millions of the human race. The establishment of substantial Christianity, therefore, Dr. Paley deemed a matter of far greater moment, than the defence of any peculiar system of religious faith. He suffered "no subordinate differences of opinion, when there was a coincidence in the main intention and object, to produce any diminution

of his favor, or alienation of his esteem;"* and he seemed anxious at all times, both from his writings and example, to soften the antipathies, which arise from sectarian disputes.

"Every sect and modification of Christianity," he observes, "holds out the happiness and misery of another life, as depending chiefly upon the practice of virtue or of vice in this; and the distinctions of virtue and vice are nearly the same in all. A person who acts under the impression of these hopes and fears, though combined with many errors and superstitions, is more likely to advance both the public happiness and his own, than one who is destitute of all expectation of a future account."† "Differences of opinion," he elsewhere remarks," when accompanied with mutual charity, which Christianity forbids to violate, are for the most part innocent, and for some purposes useful. They promote enquiry, discussion, and knowledge.

* See Nat. Theo. Dedic. p. viii.

† Mor. and Pol. Phil. 4to. p. 576. 8vo. vol. II. p. 331.

They help to keep up an attention to religious subjects, and a concern about them, which might be apt to die away in the calm and silence of universal agreement. I do not know that it is in any degree true, that the influence of religion is the greatest, where there are the fewest dissenters.*

With the methodists, therefore, who form the only numerous class of dissenters at Bishop Wearmouth, he carefully avoided every sort of altercation, and with a few of their leaders associated upon friendly terms. He also readily acceded to the application of Dr. Coke, one of their leading preachers, for a contribution to the missionary society, and civilly invited him to drink tea at the rectory. His allusions to this society in his writings at once evince his candour and good sense; discriminating accurately, as far as his subject required, between what he deemed objectionable and praise-worthy. Their mode of life he speaks of, as not unlike that of

* Evid. of Christ. vol. II. p. 389.

the early Christians ;* their preaching, as too often transgressing the limits of decorum and propriety, and wounding the modesty of a cultivated ear.† “ I feel a respect for methodists,” he again declares, “ because I believe that there is to be found amongst them, much sincere piety, and availing, though not always well-informed, Christianity : yet I never attended a meeting of theirs, but I came away with the reflection, how different what I heard was from what I read ; I do not mean in doctrine, with which at present I have no concern, but in manner ; how different from the calmness, the sobriety, the good sense, and, I may add, the strength and authority of our Lord’s discourses.”‡

His *Treat on Subscription* shews, that, as early as the year 1774, he anticipated the liberal idea, that to relax the restraints and to mitigate the hardships, under which the Roman Catholics still

* Evid. of Christ. vol. I. p. 38.

† Charge : Sermons and Tracts, p. 96.

‡ Evid. of Christ. vol. II. p. 63, 64.

lie, would become just and proper, in the very same degree, as the dangerous connection once subsisting between their civil and religious principles should be dissolved,* an opinion which he afterwards stated anew, and enforced, in his *Moral and Political Philosophy*.† On this question, as on the abolition of the Slave trade, Dr. Paley's sentiments seem to have far outrun the public mind; a fact highly honorable to his character, particularly when compared with the conduct of those men, who, boasting their *near* and *dear* connection with the emigrant priests of a neighbouring country, denied the privileges of brotherhood to the protestant dissenters of their own.

For it was not to the adherents of any particular communion, that Dr. Paley was inclined to grant some partial boon: he was the consistent advocate of a *complete* toleration of all dissenters; “perceiving no reason why men of different religious persuasions might not sit up-

* See Appendix, p. 24.

† Quarto p. 584, 585. 8vo. vol. II. p. 341, 342.

on the same bench, deliberate in the same council, or fight in the same ranks, as well as men of various or opposite opinions upon any controverted topic of natural philosophy, history, or ethics.”*

He was decidedly hostile to every species of intolerance and persecution, as adverse to the progress of truth; which, if left to itself, will almost always obtain the ascendancy, and is of superior value to any other quality which a religion can possess. “If different religions,” he observes, “be professed in the same country, and the minds of men remain unfettered and unawed by intimidations of law, that religion, which is founded in maxims of reason and credibility, will gradually gain over the other to it. I do

* *Mor. and Pol. Phil.* 4to. 582. 8vo. vol. II. p. 339.—Dr. Paley’s sentiments on this important subject have been repeatedly quoted in the House of Commons, particularly by the present Earl Grey, when introducing his *bill* for uniting British subjects of every religious denomination, in defence of a common country against a common foe: a measure, which, next to the abolition of the Slave trade, was the noblest attempt ever made by an enlightened ministry.

not mean that men will formally renounce their ancient religion, but that they will adopt into it the more rational doctrines, the improvements and discoveries of the neighbouring sect ; by which means, the worse religion, without the ceremony of a reformation, will insensibly assimilate itself to the better.”*

But, as a divine, Dr. Paley was not more distinguished by the true catholic spirit of his religion, than by his freedom from pedantry of every kind. ‘ He had that good property, in common with Locke, which too many of the higher orders in church and state so carefully avoid, that of making himself familiar with his fellow creatures. This is indeed a happy art, the attainment of which requires a sound mind and a good heart: yet it is an art which all are forcibly called upon to study, by the example of him, who washed the feet of his disciples, and taught them how they should obtain pre-eminence amongst their fellows.’

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. 4to, p. 579, 580. 8vo, vol. II. p. 327.

The minutiae of Dr. Paley's creed have never been distinctly avowed, and the charge of heterodoxy, so generally attached to his theological tenets, is supported by the omissions, rather than the assertions of his works. The opinions of those, who are usually called Socinians, have been suspected in the *protege'* of bishop Law, and the friend of Dr. Jebb. But in his *Natural Theology*, he has expressly limited his argument for the divine *unity*, to a unity of counsel,* and he elsewhere seems to have adopted the common notions, about the *pre-existence*,† the *propitiation*,‡ the *present agency*,§ and *intercession* of Christ.|| From a comparison of his *Visitation Sermon*, in 1777, with several *Sermons*** in a volume published since his death, it may be inferred, that his sentiments, on the doctrines of *con-*

* *Natural Theology*, p. 487.

† *Sermons* XVIII and XXII.

‡ *Idem*. *Nat. Theo.* p. 566. *Evid. of Christ.* vol. II. p. 24.

§ *Evid. of Christ.* vol. II. p. 384. *Serm.* XXII.

|| *Nat. Theol.* p. 566. *Serm.* XXII.

** Particularly *Sermons* VII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. &c.

version and the *influence of the spirit*, had undergone some alteration during the latter years of his life.

Through life Dr. Paley discharged his duties, as a minister of the gospel, with advantage to others, and with credit to himself. During his residence in the university, he was a frequent preacher at St. Mary's, and afterwards in the different churches of which he had the care. At Appleby he is said to have frequently preached from short notes; a practice rendered easy to him by his college lectures. His accent was indeed provincial, his voice rough and inharmonious; but his manner was highly impressive, and his delivery marked by a peculiar force and energy of expression. Amongst those who prefer sense to sound, he was, at all times, a justly popular preacher; for his sermons were distinguished by those simple and perspicuous arguments, that original, terse, and satisfactory mode of explanation, that clear and pointed style, which uniformly bespoke the character of his mind. They comprised much in little compass,

and were admirably calculated to command attention, level in general to the capacity of his least informed hearers, interesting and instructive to all. His sermons were seldom much impregnated with doctrinal divinity, but rather confined to establish the facts, or to unfold the leading principles and duties of the gospel. His moral discourses, where he pursued and expanded the same general strain of reasoning, which he has so successfully advanced in his *Philosophy*, were truly excellent. In the elucidation of such topics, he displayed a great insight into the human character, and acquaintance with the practices of the world. In that sermon on *honesty*, for example, which he preached at Bishop-Wearmouth, in December 1800, he pointed out the duties of men in all their mutual dealings with a master's hand, and maintained that the most strict integrity in every transaction, and not a mere compliance with the forms of law, was necessary to constitute the character of a truly honest man. He was heard that day, with more than common interest, by a numerous congregation, who little thought, at the moment, that

many of them should never hear him more. With the exception of an occasional discourse on the Christmas-day immediately ensuing, this sermon was the last which he delivered in that place. His cessation from this part of his professional duty occasioned among his parishioners a very general regret : but the necessity of that cessation was to all apparent, in the severe and painful illness, which embittered the latter years of his life.

After the publication of his *Natural Theology*, when the completion of a great design no longer occupied his intervals of ease, Dr. Paley had projected the printing of a volume of sermons, for private and gratuitous distribution among his parishioners, to compensate, as far as possible, for the unavoidable loss of his public instructions. This intention, which he was prevented by death from accomplishing himself, has since been fulfilled by his executors, in compliance with a codicil to his *will*. A collection of thirty-five *Sermons*, containing some which he had previously delivered, and others which he had pro-

ably composed for the purpose, was consequently printed at *Sunderland*, and circulated at Bishop-Wearmouth, as a final proof of his pastoral interest and affection. To these narrow precincts, however, the circulation was at first restricted, by his express desire that they should not be printed for sale: a restriction originating perhaps in a modest conception of their merits, when compared with his other works. His family, however, acquiescing in the general wish, have since presented them to the world; as it was found difficult, if not impossible, to avoid a surreptitious sale of them, after the circulation of so large an impression.

“One characteristic excellence of these *Sermons*,” in the language of a friend, “is, that for the most part they come forcibly home to the business and the bosom. In descriptive eloquence, in pathos and sentiment, in elegant exhibitions of moral virtue, or in learned development of articles of faith, it does not seem to have ever been Dr. Paley’s ambition as a preacher to excel. Instead of these merits, his sermons gene-

rally display, a plain and practical application of the religious doctrine or precept to the moral purpose of his discourse, and urge the traits of real character with a home-truth, of which an honest conscience dares not deny or repel the application."

In these posthumous discourses, as in all his works, he has concentrated much valuable matter in a little space. Unadorned, plain, and sometimes even rude in style, from the weight of the subject, and from the perspicuity both of the language and of the argument, they seize at once upon the mind, and generally engage an immediate assent. Besides, they have less of common place, either of sentiment or of reasoning, than perhaps any compositions of the kind. Some of them may indeed be read with great intellectual delight, for the ingenious solutions of apparent difficulties, as in the case of God visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children, or for the judicious explanations of scripture, which they contain.* The sermons on *filial piety*† il-

* See Serm. XIII, and XX;

† Id. IX.

illustrated in the history of Joseph, on *pure religion*,* and on the *neglect of warnings*†, are equally interesting and instructive: and even those, which were probably the composition of his latter days, display the wonted vigor and energy of his mind.

Important and excellent, however, as many of these sermons are, yet by abandoning his previous reserve on certain points of doctrine, and entering at large into some opinions disputed by many Christian enquirers,‡ Dr. Paley has certainly prevented the whole volume from obtaining that almost unqualified approbation bestowed on his preceding works; but this very circumstance will no doubt render it more highly acceptable to the adherents of the established church.

Gratified as the inhabitants of Bishop-Wearmouth undoubtedly were, with this valuable bequest, still many of them were in no small de-

* See Serm. XXI. † Id. XXX.

‡ Particularly in Sermons XVIII. XIX. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV.

gree disappointed, in not finding several exhortations inserted, which they had heard him deliver from the pulpit with great satisfaction. Amongst these may be included his discourses on *death-bed repentance*, on *lying*, on *training a child*, on *the duty of celebrating the Lord's Supper*, and particularly the sermon on *honesty*, which has been already mentioned. These, and many others equally interesting, must be still in the hands of his family, who it is hoped will not long withhold them from the world. Nothing that can do honor to the talents of such a writer should be now kept back; nothing at least that may prove so essentially conducive to the religious and moral improvement of mankind.

As an author, Dr. Paley has long maintained a high reputation amongst his contemporaries, and posterity will probably do equal justice to his claims; for, perhaps, the productions of no writer on similar topics are so well calculated for general perusal. A want of originality has indeed been complained of in some of his most es-

teemed works. But admitting that in the substance he has borrowed largely from preceding writers, the manner in which he has embodied and arranged his materials, and the mode of application by which he has made them bear so forcibly on the subject, are still peculiarly his own.

Dr. Paley's works are open to the comprehension of the plainest capacity, if attention be not wanting. Whatsoever he attempted to elucidate became at once satisfactory and clear. In his pages, the abstruseness of *controversial divinity*, or the dryness of *ethics* and *jurisprudence*, do not weary or repel the mind of the student: but natural theology becomes a pleasing science, Christianity, in its evidences, plain and intelligible, morality, a lively and interesting study. Every where rational, and every where perspicuous, his writings are equally calculated to please, and to instruct. Yet the opening statements of his theory have been thought to be by no means so clear, easy, and satisfactory, as the detail of argument, in which it is afterwards developed and practically applied. From this difference it may

be concluded that the latter was his *forte*, whilst the former was added, chiefly to give completeness and rounding to the whole.

His *Natural Theology* is generally allowed to be the most luminous, and at the same time comprehensive treatise of the kind. His *Horæ Paulinæ*, and his *View of the Evidences of Christianity* have been equally approved by churchmen and dissenters of various denominations, and even the objections, to which some parts of his *Moral and Political Philosophy* are justly liable, detract but little, after all, from its value,

A full and complete Analysis of the Natural Theology, and another of the *Evidences of Christianity*, in the manner of abridgments, have been published by Mr. Joyce, and an *Analysis of the Moral and Political Philosophy*, which presents a copious syllabus of its contents, by Mr. Le Grice. As far as these, which are faithfully executed, contribute to the information of those persons only, who have not leisure to peruse the originals, or who, having perused them, wish to

refer occasionally to their substance, without the connected illustrations, they are of unquestionable utility. The only fear is, lest they should ever lead to a neglect of the originals, or encourage habits of superficial reading.

The minor productions of Dr. Paley are comparatively little known, but they will be found upon examination, in no respect unworthy of his fame. *The Defence of Bishop Law's Considerations* is a model of fair argument and candid reasoning, conducted with a spirit and ability, which clearly shew, that had the author taken a wider range in the fields of controversy, he would have ranked high amongst the ablest polemics of his day. By the exertion of such talents, in support of popular rights, or of ministerial encroachments, he might have rendered himself a most useful auxiliary to the leading statesmen of his age. By volunteering them in a regular defence of superfluous creeds, and articles of faith, or in maintaining the established church against every project of amendment, however salutary and moderate, he might have

earned a much higher and more ample reward. But, by confining himself almost exclusively to the provinces of religion and morality, he has deserved far better of mankind, and his name will be held in respect by posterity, when the mere advocates of systems are forgotten.

His *Occasional Sermons* and *Charge to the Clergy of Carlisle* are distinguished by the importance of the subjects selected, and the judicious exhortations addressed to those orders of the community, for whose instruction they were principally designed. For great as Dr. Paley's powers were as a parochial teacher, he was still better qualified for a preacher before congregations of a different kind. He should have preached to lawyers, as to men through whose understandings the way lies to their hearts: or rather, wherever an audience could have been collected, with whom the certain avenue to the affections lay through the convictions of the intellect, there was the province for his labors. When it is said that Dr. Paley's is a popular style of composition, this must be understood with an important re-

striction. It savours not of mere erudition, it obtrudes no classical allusion to charm the scholar, or to dazzle the unlearned; to be understood it requires no previous and accurate knowledge of systems and theories: most true; but then, in the readers or hearers, it certainly does require a clear, strong understanding, with such logical habits of thought, as a good education is supposed to give directly, or such as are reflectively produced, by mingling much and often, with the well educated and reasoning part of mankind. Add perhaps a little for a few terms, that have crept in from the vocabulary of the schools, and which require no great wit to comprehend their meaning and their use: and with these exceptions, Dr. Paley's manner of writing is eminently popular, in the very sense in which that quality is too often wanted, in the tracts and sermons, however otherwise learned and eloquent, of the dignitaries of the church.

Dr. Paley had the satisfaction of witnessing the extensive circulation and popularity of his *Writings* amongst his contemporaries, and the

approbation with which they were often quoted, as applicable to the actual concerns of mankind. But he must have received a still higher gratification, in his last illness, from the eulogium of that enlightened statesman, whose magnanimity and wisdom are recorded, in the detail of his exertions to preserve the peace of Europe, and to maintain the true principles of civil and religious liberty in his own country. Mr. Fox, whilst asserting, in the House of Commons, May 14th 1805, the claims of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to a full and complete toleration, more than once referred to the *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*; enforcing his great argument on that occasion, by the deliberate conclusions of a writer, "whose authority," he said, "would have great weight, not only in that House, but with all thinking men in the country:—whose opinions no man who valued genius, no man who valued learning, no man who valued moderation, could hear without deference and respect."

• Superior minds are ever conscious of each other's worth. Had Mr. Fox succeeded sooner

to that situation in the government of his country, which he held at the time of his lamented death, Dr. Paley might probably have attained the highest dignities of his profession. Dr. Paley, on the other hand, though never professing himself the indiscriminate partizan and admirer, has been heard to speak, in terms of very high approbation, of the genius, the extensive knowledge, the liberality and candour of Mr. Fox. To a friend, who was expressing his surprise at the extraordinary acquirements of that celebrated statesman, considering the well known follies of his early life, he once pointedly replied—"Why, sir, some men are never idle; and Mr. Fox is one of these: whether engaged in business, in study, or in dissipation, his mind has been actively employed. Such men lose no time: they are always adding to their stock of information; whilst numbers, with grave appearance, trifle life away, and pursue nothing with advantage or effect."*

* ——— How various his employments whom the world

Calls idle.

COWPER.

See Lord Holland's Address to the Reader, p. iii. iv. in Mr. Fox's Historical Work.

The character of Dr. Paley, however, can never be justly estimated from his public exertions alone; for he appeared, at all times, with still greater advantage in the intercourse of private life. He was a good husband, an affectionate father, an indulgent master, and a faithful friend. He was ready on all occasions to promote the general interests of society, or to accommodate his more immediate neighbours with any civilities or kind offices in his power. Though economical from principle as well as from habit, he was liberal, and even generous, in all his pecuniary transactions with others. He was invariably more highly esteemed and beloved, in proportion as he was better known; for he had none of those seeming virtues, which dazzle only at a distance, but which shrink from more accurate examination: he acted on no false pretences, and assumed no disguise. ‘His little defects, it is possible, might strike the common observer more forcibly; but they were not only such as might well be borne with, but such as afforded his friends continual opportunities of discovering under them the goodness of his heart.’

In his latter days, he appeared to the greatest advantage at home; particularly when surrounded by an interesting family, who looked up to him at once with reverence and affection, and by their young visitors, who frequently formed the happy inmates of his house. To those who were honored with his more intimate acquaintance, his domestic circle then afforded an unrivalled treat. The master of the house was himself the most important actor in the social scene; and his conversation being constantly fraught either with information or with humour, he was listened to with undivided attention, whether engaged in serious observations, or indulging in more lively anecdotes, and unpremeditated sallies of wit.

Dr. Paley was the farthest man in the world from any of that formality, which dulness puts on to conceal its ignorance: he was a master in the art of accommodating himself to the reach of all capacities, and displayed the solidity of a philosopher, without his solemnity and reserve.*

* See Coste's Character of Locke, in Locke's Works, 8vo. vol. x.

"He could concern himself with trifles at intervals, and converse among the vulgar, without taking off his thoughts from higher matters, or interfering with the proper functions of his station."* With his great predecessor *Locke*, he was probably of opinion, "that in order to employ one part of life in serious and important occupations, it was necessary to spend another in mere amusements."† But unlike the great mass of mankind, his hours of recreation were not idly wasted, and the innocent pleasures, in which he then indulged himself, were frequently conducive to some important end.

Like *Locke*,‡ like *Johnson*,§ and like *Burke*,|| he had the happy art of deriving knowledge from others, by addressing every man on those subjects, with which, from professional or other causes, he was likely to be the best acquainted. Therefore in company with scientific men, with

* Tucker's *Light of Nature Pursued*, 2d. edit. vol. V. p. 86.

† Coste's *Character of Locke*.

‡ Idem.

§ Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 117.

|| Bisset's *Life of Burke*, vol. I. p. 307.

artists, with manufacturers, or even with common mechanics, his conversation was continually turning on their separate pursuits. The present writer once met with Dr. Paley at a ship launch, sedulously attending to the successive removal of the blocks by which the vessel was supported, and making enquiries of those who seemed most conversant in the business. But he pursued his enquiries with still greater ardour and pertinacity, when he met with a communicative companion, whose sphere of information had been extended beyond the precincts of his own country, or the routine of common life. When Dr. Coke, for instance, drank tea with him, he gained several interesting particulars, concerning the method pursued by the missionary society, in the conversion of the American savages, and the rude peasantry of Ireland.

The writer of these *Memoirs*, who, during the period of his acquaintance with Dr. Paley, made three separate excursions into foreign countries, generally underwent the most minute examinations after his return. On their first interview

after a voyage of several months to the south of Italy and the Levant, Dr. Paley pressed him with a succession of enquiries, both as to the direct objects of his attention, and incidental occurrences, with very little intermission, for several hours; nor was the discourse closed even then, but was frequently renewed in conversation afterwards. The queries thus proposed were pertinent, often very forcibly expressed, and pointing to the answer required; but by no means methodically pursued. It has ever been lamented, that the heads of such conversations could not be accurately preserved, for they were strongly marked with Dr. Paley's keen and sagacious manner of putting questions, and with his extraordinary grasp of intellect.

This proneness to general inquiry has been sometimes adduced, as a proof that in common life he would indulge in conversations unworthy of his talents and literary fame. This objection, however, could only originate with men of a very limited capacity, incompetent to measure the range of a superior mind. From such conferences

Dr. Paley probably derived the germ of many ideas, with which, as matured by subsequent reflection, his works are enriched. He was one of those *men* who, to use his own phrase, "*are never idle*;" and from the most trifling company, he could occasionally draw information, or at least amusement. In short, to the very practice so censured, he was not only indebted for a useful relaxation from severer studies, but for much varied knowledge, and for a happy freedom from discontent and *ennui*. The same remark applies to the pleasure, which he occasionally took in what is called lighter reading; from which he returned with increased activity and vigor, to the discharge of more important concerns.

"At no time of his life was Dr. Paley a hard student, according to the common acceptance of the word, which is used rather to describe one who reads, than one who thinks much. His works do not display any very profound or extensive acquaintance with books: they are valued not for discussing or deciding upon the opinions of learned men, but for original and enlightened

reflections on the transactions of human life, such as may be supposed to have passed before him, or to have come to his knowledge without any laborious enquiry.”*

Many of the opinions, which Dr. Paley casually advanced in conversation, would, if collected, form a series of instructive aphorisms, applicable to the conduct of individuals, and the government of states. It was not, indeed, on points of importance alone that he displayed his powers: he frequently, as has been shewn, indulged in repartee, animadverted on common occurrences, or introduced some lively stories of himself and his associates in early life. Many characteristic sketches of his conversation are preserved in the recollection of his friends, and deserve a more permanent record; though, in some instances, they may not strike the reader with that force of entertainment, which sprung from his own expressive delivery, or the provincial dialect which he at times assumed.

* Monthly Magazine, July 1805.

Above all, there was in him a peculiar *naivete'*, which will long remain impressed upon the memory of his acquaintance, but which, to strangers, it is difficult even by anecdotes to convey. It is curious to remark so many extraordinary coincidences between the character of Dr. Paley and that of Locke; but it is evident, from such examples, that urbanity of manners and a social disposition are by no means inconsistent with the very greatest powers of intellect.

Dr. Paley was in a great measure free from those virulent antipathies, political and religious, which have divided so large a portion of the community during the present reign. His ideas were never biassed by the creed of a party, nor were they the narrow dogmas of a sect, but the rational conclusions of a liberal enquirer, who "without partialities and passions was accustomed to weigh all things, and accordingly to give *his* sentence."* His opinions, therefore, on passing events, or on political discussions, were

* Hooker's Works, 8vo. vol. II. p. 99.

always candidly though frankly asserted. He took in, latterly, a daily London paper* in the interest of successive administrations, and a weekly provincial one† attached to the whig opposition, "to balance his politics," as he used to say; and the equilibrium was fairly preserved.

The principal objection to a reform in parliament, which Dr. Paley sometimes advanced in conversation, was founded in this argument, "that as no alteration in the mode of election could exclude the influence of property, no essential difference in the choice of representatives would be thereby promoted, sufficient to justify a change." It is not, however, to the direct influence of property, arising from the general state of society, that the constitutional reformer objects; but, to that indirect authority, which prescription has ratified, and which the inequality and inconsistency of the present system contribute so much to maintain. The men returned according to the existing mode of election, and

* The Sun,

† The Newcastle Chronicle.

according to any of those plans which have been so strenuously and so ably recommended, might perhaps be nearly the same. But many of these men would come into the House of Commons, with very different feelings of duty, and with very different apprehensions as to their return to that House, if, in every instance, their conduct was to be decided upon, in frequent elections, by respectable bodies of the people. To support the foundations of a free constitution against those changes, which time, the greatest innovator, is perpetually introducing, a timely recurrence to first principles in government, and a salutary reform of notorious abuses, have been strongly recommended, either as generally expedient, or as applicable to the present grievance, by the most eminent statesmen and philosophers of succeeding ages: by Machiavelli,* Bacon,† and Locke;‡ by Chatham,§ Saville,|| and Fox.**

* Discorsi, lib. III cap. I. † Essay on Innovations.

‡ Treatises on Government, B. II. ch. 13.

§ Speeches in the House of Lords, Jan. 22d. and May 14th 1770, &c

|| Address to his Constituents, Sep. 5th 1780.

** Speeches in the House of Commons, May 7th 1793, and May 26th 1797.

The advocate for political renovation must, indeed, lament that the name of Dr. Paley cannot also be adduced in its support: but his mind was, in most cases, too much occupied with the practical difficulty of a change, in opposition to the interest and prejudices of numbers, to start any plans of reform; and he endeavoured rather to make the best of things in their present state. From his natural love of what was right and good, however, no man might have been more certainly counted upon to approve, and rejoice at any alteration for the better, when introduced with success. To the opinion of such a man, respectful deference is always due; and that opinion may be useful, in cautioning reformers against any visionary projects of perfection, rather than in deterring them from the prosecution of just and rational objects of improvement.

But whilst Dr. Paley questioned the expediency of a reform in parliament, he certainly never sanctioned by his countenance or authority, any of those atrocious calumnies, which were at one period so assiduously circulated against the mo-

derate, though consistent friends of that measure. The candour and moderation of his own mind inclined him, on all occasions, to judge favorably of the intentions of other men, however he might differ from them in opinion. His whole conversation, therefore, on such subjects, though he delivered himself with force and freedom, was marked with a great spirit of liberality.

But not satisfied with his neutrality on such occasions, many ardent friends of civil and religious liberty have contended, that, in pursuance of the doctrines which he had formally advanced as a philosopher, he ought to have taken a more decided part in favor of their cause. It is, however, at all times, difficult to prescribe an exact line of conduct to other men; and it is hardly equitable to estimate the force of moral obligation, on men of very different temperaments, by the same rule: and in no instance, is this difficulty more apparent, than in the very delicate questions of religion and government discussed in Dr. Paley's day. Interesting as those questions are, or usually seem to be, during the virulent contests of his latter years more especially, he

might fairly be excused by his age, and still more by his health and profession, from taking a more active part than he did.* On the abolition of the Slave trade, indeed, and against a systematic plan of local oppression, he decidedly interfered: instigated in the one case, perhaps, by his ideas of duty as a Christian minister, and in both by his indignation as a man. But had he generally pursued a less temperate line of conduct; had he abandoned the strict provinces of theology and morals, for what, however honorable his motives, might yet have been attributed to party feelings, he certainly would have narrowed his own sphere of permanent usefulness, and weakened the general influence of his writings; which now, coming from a dignitary of the church, unbiassed by political connexions, have free admission into every house and every library.

He seems, too, seriously to have thought that "the necessity should be manifest, before men started out of the separate precincts of their own duty, to rush into provinces which belong to

* See Appendix, p. 164.

others; since, in general, the public interest is best upheld; the public quiet always best preserved, by each one attending to the proper and distinct duties of his station.”*

In the year 1795, during one of his visits to Cambridge, Dr. Paley, in the course of a conversation on the subject, gave the following account of the early part of his own academical life; and it is here given, on the authority and in the very words of a gentleman who was present at the time, as a striking instance of the peculiar frankness with which he was in the habit of relating the adventures of his youth.

“I spent the first two years of my undergraduateship happily but unprofitably. I was constantly in society, where we were not immoral, but idle and rather expensive. At the commencement of my third year, however, after having left the usual party at rather a late hour in the evening, I was awakened at five in the

* Assize Sermon—Sermons and Tracts, p. 137.

morning by one of my companions, who stood at my bed-side and said—‘Paley, I have been thinking what a d****’d fool you are. I could do nothing, probably, were I to try, and can afford the life I lead: you could do every thing, and cannot afford it. I have had no sleep during the whole night on account of these reflections, and am now come solemnly to inform you, that if you persist in your indolence, I must renounce your society.’ ”

“I was so struck”—Dr. Paley continued—“with the visit and the visitor, that I lay in bed great part of the day, and formed my plan. I ordered my bed-maker to prepare my fire every evening, in order that it might be lighted by myself. I arose at five, read during the whole of the day, except such hours as chapel and hall required, allotting to each portion of time it’s peculiar branch of study; and just before the closing of gates (nine o’clock) I went to a neighbouring coffee-house, where I constantly regaled upon a mutton chop and a dose of milk punch. And

thus on taking my bachelor's degree, I became senior wrangler."

Thus fortunately was Dr. Paley roused to a full exertion of his faculties, before his habits were completely formed; and to this singular adventure may, perhaps, be attributed, not only his successful labors, as a college tutor, but the invaluable productions of his pen.

Few men enjoyed the pleasures of life with greater zest than Dr. Paley; few men bore more firmly with its pains. He always appeared well satisfied with the lot assigned him, and, in all the changes of his fortune, attributed more to the munificence of his patron, than to his own deserts. His life he often stated to have been a happy one; and his success to have far exceeded his most sanguine hopes. His early preferments he deemed a liberal provision, much exceeding his pretensions: and the ecclesiastical situations in which he was afterwards placed, 'as more than adequate to every object of reasonable ambition.'*

* Natural Theology, Dedication, p. iv.

Dr. Paley, indeed, could never be deemed a preferment hunter in any period of his life: *he was not of a nature to root*. He had a mind superior to all those little arts, by which patronage is too frequently acquired. The patronage actually bestowed on him was either the fruit of private friendship, or the reward of great and universally acknowledged merit. That such a man, in this enlightened age and nation, was not advanced to a bishopric, will ever remain an indelible blot on the character of those, who dispensed the honors of the British hierarchy during his latter years. It has, however, been reported, that a late prime minister did actually recommend him for a vacant mitre; but that a very high dignitary of the church, being consulted, prevented his elevation, by hinting against some passages in his *Works*. His most important services to Christianity were, therefore, as it seems, neglected; because, as a *writer*, he had boldly maintained the claims of conscience and religious liberty, and had given a forcible expression to some obvious, but uncourtly truths.

The promotion of Dr. Paley to a bishopric would have done honor to the administration of Mr. Pitt, as it might justly have been attributed to disinterested motives. But unfortunately for the reputation of the premier and the public interest, whilst men, whom it is no disparagement to call inferior, were successively raised to that dignity, Dr. Paley passed through life in comparatively private stations, and died a rector, a prebendary, and a subdean. But the truly liberal of his own, and of succeeding times, will confer the highest honors on his name; and will ever rank him in the number of those, who, by the exertions of a clear and vigorous understanding, have risen to the office of instructing nations, and of contributing by their wisdom to benefit the most essential interests of mankind.

The *writer* is happy in being able to annex some further remarks on Dr. Paley's early character and performances, in the following letter from a friend.

DEAR SIR,

SELDOM has there been a writer more fitted for the great task of instructing mankind than Dr. Paley, or one that has more nearly hit the true tone of moral instruction. Every thing that regards such a man is interesting to the world; and I am rejoiced to find, that your *Memoirs* of his Life and Writings are at length ready to appear from the press. To the faithful and even painful diligence, with which the work has been performed, my testimony shall be cheerfully borne; wherever it may be likely either to recommend the merits or to excuse the defects of Dr. Paley's biographer. Still happier should I have been, if any

assistance of mine could have contributed to render the *Memoirs* more completely satisfactory, at once to yourself and to the public. As it is, however, I trust, you will derive no discredit, and the subject of your labors no disparagement, from the tribute you have paid to his talents and his virtues.

Far from thinking your account of Paley's early days over-done, I wish you had possessed more intelligence, from authentic sources, of his habits and pursuits, at that period when the elements of his character first assumed a definite organisation. At Cambridge, as you know, Paley is one of our heroes; and of the hero the very infancy is always fancied, and sometimes found, to prefigure the manhood, as morning shows the day. It is thus that we look back with curious affection to discover the ultimate causes of that something *unique* and peculiar in Paley's bold cast of conception and delivery. To refer this to the exercise of his talents as a college lecturer, of which, by the way, we want a more detailed account from some intelligent

pupil, is only to come one step nearer the cause of his originality, without reaching the spring itself; which, I apprehend, after all must be traced to the peculiar scene of his boyhood and youth. In a spot comparatively rude and rustic, like Giggleswick, in the free and familiar acquaintance with a people of strong mother wit and Sabine simplicity, the peculiar genius of Paley was formed, void of art and abhorrent to all affectation. Without change of place and the benefit of higher education, he would have been more coarse without being less vigorous, and not less clear in what he knew, though not so extensively enlightened. But had he been brought up in the politeness of a city, or in the regular discipline of a great public school, his character must have lost in rugged solidity, whatever it gained in refinement and elegance; and while in his books, if he had written any, he might have avoided the charge of colloquial homeliness, or want of dignity in his diction, the stamp of mind would hardly have been so deep and broad in the impression of his style, or his mind itself, in the mode at least of it's exertion,

so clear from all fastidious nicety, and so free in adopting images of illustration for their strength and point, with little regard to beauty and still less to fashion. In short, we know very well and prize most highly what we actually had in Paley, and there is little reason to think, that any supposed advantage of different circumstances, in his early life, could have produced any thing like the same combination of talents and usefulness. To those indeed who love the *exuberance** of native character, there is in the writings of Paley, as connected with his personal *naivete'*, every thing to interest and gratify. And for those, if such there be, who yet desiderate in him a higher temperament of sensibility, or a finer delicacy of expression, let them learn to take substantial excellence wherever they are happy enough to find it, though it be not quite *rectified* up to their own exquisite standard of taste. For after all, as Paley most candidly and happily says, when speaking of his friend and first patron Bishop Law, "it is the condition of

* See Lavater's Aphorisms on Man. Aph : 522.

human mortality. There is an opposition between some virtues which seldom permits them to subsist together in perfection.”*

On the other hand, I know there are persons who lament that intellectual powers, like those of Paley, were not more devoted to profound disquisition, to the discovery of new truth, rather than to the establishment and recommendation of doctrines and principles already well known and believed. Here again, there are grounds for contentment. In what he actually has done, the benefit we enjoy is invaluable. Whether in any other department, his enquiries would have been, if bold, successfully pursued, and if so, crowned besides with popularity and usefulness, is all mere conjecture. Indeed, the limited sale of his *Horæ Paulinæ*, though a contribution, from one man and from one mind, almost unparalleled to the evidences of Christianity, and the most decisive proof of talents profoundly original, might seem to indicate, that in his other works he had adorn-

* Short Memoir of the Life of Edmund Law, D. D. Bishop of Carlisle. p. 15.

ed the very province of instruction, where the public want most required the exertion of those gifts, by nature and habit so richly bestowed upon him. Be that as it will, we are told, that one drop of cold water will chill and condense a mighty volume of steam : and one cannot wonder, that Paley's freedom of speculation should show itself so little in the prudent years of later life, when, at the very first outset of a young and vigorous spirit, he was rebuked for proposing, in an academical exercise, to controvert the *eternity of hell torments*, which even the cautious orthodoxy of our church has not made an article of faith, and the necessity of *capital punishments*, which has never been reckoned otherwise than a fair point for philosophical and political discussion.

When I first heard of the question for the *Senior Bachelor's Essay* in 1765, you may remember my remark, that we might naturally anticipate, but not for vulgar reasons, Paley's choice in espousing the Epicurean rather than the Stoic cause. At no time of his life could he be mistaken for

one of "those budge doctors of the Stoic fur,"²⁸ and certainly not about the time of writing that Essay. The composition of it therefore found Paley going a certain road, and such an effort of study might help to determine the strong tendencies of his character, by adding the conviction of intellect to the force of nature and habit. The young academic, as some of us well recollect, lets his mind be earnestly interested in maintaining either side of a question, even when he is not free to choose whether: but in Paley's defence of an argument freely chosen, and virtually involving the point on which his own peculiarity of feeling, speaking, and acting, very much hinged, one is easily led to fancy, that the peculiarity itself would be greatly developed in the progress of discussion. And on the whole the perusal of the Essay did not in any way disappoint the expectation with which I took it up. The young adventurer proceeds, it is true, with a more controlled and delicate step: but still it is the gait and march of Paley. This appears more strikingly in the English notes, which indeed possess the vigor and clearness of his usual

style, with many things now and then in his boldest manner of expression,

What language for instance can be more pregnant with sense than his calling the Stoics "those Pharisees in philosophy;" and what more just, if we only consider that spiritual pride and hypocrisy belonged to both sects alike, and that while the one raised the observance of external rites to an equality of obligation with the moral law, the other pertinaciously maintained that all crimes are equal. The Stoic paradox, though defended or softened by the subtlety of Cicero, stands exposed by the wit of Horace to just contempt; and must on every principle of common sense be exploded, as inhuman in it's spirit and immoral in it's tendency. Paley, who never weakens the claims of duty by overstating them, and who marks criminality with a candid eye on a graduated scale, has been unfairly reprehended by the rigid righteousness of certain strict moralists* for his chapter on *Lies*;† a chapter which, throughout

* See Overton's *True Churchman*. 2d, ed. p. 256, 257.

† *Mor. and Pol. Phil.* Book iii. l. c. 15.

enlightened and liberal, is more especially recommended by a note on the base artifice of decoying an enemy through counterfeit distress, and is more likely after all to offend some minds by the strong censure of *pious frauds*, than to injure any by a most guarded extenuation of a few secular falsehoods of the lowest moment.

Paley most clearly understood the value of the Christian revelation to mankind ; and, brought up in the school of Locke of whose doctrines he was thoroughly master, and of Law whose peculiar merits he afterwards recorded in a modest dedication, it is no wonder that he held in utter contempt " the pompous maxims and futile reasonings " of the greater part of the ancient philosophers. Happy had it been for Christianity, if all the eminent professors of it had kept their belief of its principles equally free from the impregnation of pagan reveries. The simplicity of evangelical truth yet labors under much incumbrance of science falsely so called. The close of that admirable chapter on *reverencing the deity*,* may help to show in what light

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. Book v, c, 9.

Paley viewed the best metaphysical demonstrations of the immortality of the soul ; independently of the dreams and figments which disgrace the ‘right reasonings,’ even when such they are, of learned heathens on the subject. Yet there exists at this day—I scarce believe it, but am told—a certain fanatic Platonist ; who verily maintains that the *Phædo* dialogue was designed by providence, as a preliminary postscript to the Gospel of St. John.

To return to the Epicurean Essay. The minor faults in the composition are nearly the same as those, which a critical eye may detect in that immortal letter of Locke’s on Toleration, and arise chiefly from the intrusion of the English in place of the Latin idiom. The Dissertation however is written in a good, strong style ; and while it shows a close and familiar acquaintance with the philosophical works of Tully, presents several happy allusions to the Roman poets. Of Horace he does not make so free a use, as the very inviting occasion might have suggested. For if ever good sense adorned and recom-

invented the practical maxims of the Epicurean school, and exhibited the character as humane, benevolent, and amiable; unquestionably such a picture may be found in the most valuable parts of Horace's writings, which, generally speaking, are those of his later years. The moral temperament indeed of the Epicurean has been often found united, not unnaturally, with the mild virtues of the Christian; and when we contemplate such men as Evelyn and Cowley, in the gardens of retirement and leisure, holding converse with God and with nature, who can help admiring and loving that amenity of disposition which marks the language of their heart! nor can one in such company forget honest Isaac Walton, in whose pure and tranquil mind the dearest wish of his favorite Hooker may be traced — to “see God’s blessings spring from his mother earth and to eat his own bread in peace and privacy.”* Yet imagine not, that I am insensible to the very different merits of some, not individuals only, but whole families, that in bearing the Stoic name, and in practising

* See Zouch’s edition of Walton’s Lives. 4to. p. 231. 263.

the best moral energies belonging to it in the worst of times, have thrown a train of brightness over the history of imperial Rome, where it is otherwise most dark, gloomy, and horrible. A full and connected memoir of those illustrious Romans, beginning with Arria and ending with the younger Helvidius, on the authority of Tacitus and of Pliny's Letters, is a desideratum in literature which I have often regretted.* And of all the wine, that an Englishman and a lover of liberty might conceive most exquisite to the patriotic palate, commend me to that described in Juvenal—

Quale coronati Thræsea Helvidiusque bibebant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus.†

Such wine as Thræsea and Helvidius used to drink on the birth days of the two Bruti and of Cassius, the first and last heroes of the Roman Republic.

* The reader, however, is recommended to peruse all that relates to this subject in the elegant and instructive notes and appendices of Mr. Murphy, annexed to his translation of Tacitus.

† A classical reader will be gratified, if he turn to Tacitus's *Annals*, at the close of the xvi. book, and to the conclusion of the vi. *Iliad* of Homer.

Yet in his speculative notions the lean Cassius was a professed Epicurean.—So much for the influence of the creed of philosophy on the good works of patriotism.

If ever that first known performance of Paley's be given from the press to his admirers, you will hardly recommend my pen, after this specimen; in the task of commenting on it: but you know the miserable want of leisure and unavoidable distraction of thought, under which I now write; and for the rest, if you still chuse to print this desultory letter, you and not I undertake the responsibility with the public.

I had intended to give you a short sketch of Paley's talents as a classical scholar: it must suffice to assure you, as I very truly can, (for in his own department a man may speak with some confidence,) that wherever in his *Horæ Paulinæ*, any criticism on the Greek language is employed, his remarks, without ostentation, are eminently acute, vigorous, and just. Indeed all his knowledge seems to have been sound, as far as it

went. No man ever abused learning less, or was less the dupe of learning. And though all his life he studied things more than words, yet he perfectly understood, at the proper time, to turn an exact knowledge of words to a very substantial account.

I must add that his motto for the Dissertation derived singular felicity from the event of it's gaining the first prize. Possibly too, he might have tried without any success the year before.

Non jam prima peto Mnestheus, neque vincere certo,
Quamquam O! ——— *Æncid.* v. 194; 5.*

Nor can I, as a Cambridge man, overcome the temptation here to recommend my own Alma Mater for this institution of the Bachelor's Prizes, amongst many others calculated generally to improve the talents and direct the principles of ingenuous young men. It is something too to reflect upon with pride, that in the

* I seek not now the foremost palm to gain;
Though yet—but ah! ——— *Dryden,*

year 1792, when the worst of times were just opening upon us at home and abroad, ruinous to Europe, to ourselves most calamitous, the integrity of Cambridge umpires awarded the first prize to Tweddell's splendid and eloquent, but honest and bold, "*Oratio pro æqua libertate.*" Yet a higher topic of gratulation offers itself, of a few years earlier date. The late excellent Dean of Peterborough, Dr. Peckard, master of Magdalen, and in 1785 vice-chancellor, in the exercise of the latter office, being himself a warm friend to civil and religious liberty, under circumstances pointing directly to the African slave trade proposed for the Senior Bachelor's Prizes the question of slavery in respect of its lawfulness. Thomas Clarkson, Senior Bachelor of St. John's, though first roused by the call of honor, soon devoted his whole heart and soul to the cause of injured humanity. The higher of the two prizes was assigned to his Dissertation. And almost from that moment, this righteous man—not surpassed by Howard in the active zeal and personal labors of philanthropy—became the

indefatigable apostle, through evil report and good report, of *the abolition* emphatically so called; till at length, to speak the poet's language, the foul bosom of this Country hath been cleansed of the most perilous stuff that ever weighed upon the heart. For the academical institution here celebrated I would not claim more praise than is justly due to it: but to that institution ultimately, not less than to any single cause whatever, is it too much to attribute, under heaven, one of the most glorious triumphs ever obtained by the principle of good over the principle of evil?*

It is time to conclude this long and digressive letter: and yet in justice to the memory of Paley, it may be right before concluding, to state, for the silencing of cavillers, since such are abroad, that neither in the Dissertation nor in the notes is there one word or sentiment unfavorable to religion or to morality, but the strict-

* The long battle and the final triumph have both been recorded with apostolic simplicity, as far as regards himself, by Mr. Clarkson in his History of the Abolition.

est and most earnest regard to the interests of both. Of Epicurus's philosophy, even when rightly and candidly understood, he is only the advocate, *on the whole*, as preferable to that of Zeno. The Dissertator is perfectly free from every thing connected with the worse and vulgar sense of the word Epicurean, which now means nothing but voluptuous and selfish and base. One of his most powerful attacks on the Stoic code of morals turns on it's allowing promiscuous concubinage, the bane of personal virtue, of generous affection, of domestic and social happiness. This part of the Essay is every way worthy of the writer of those chapters on the *relative duties which result from the constitution of the sexes*.* His reprobation of the Stoic dogmas in favor of suicide I should hardly now mention, but through you to remind those whom it may concern, that a very masterly sermon of Paley's against suicide is somewhere in existence which ought not to be lost to the world.

* Mor. and Pol. Phil. Book iii. Part iii.

There is an admired sentence of Locke,* which Paley must have had strongly in his mind, when he wrote the following paragraph which concludes his Dissertation.

Illuxit aliquando Religio cujus *auctor* est *Deus*; cujus *materia* *veritas*, cujus *finis* est *felicitas*. Religio aliquando illuxit quæ Stoæ paradoxon in principiis vere Epicureis fundari voluit. Sufficit ad felicitatem virtus, virtutis tamen finis est felicitas. Stabile denique quiddam est in quo pedem figamus, patetque nil veterem potuisse disciplinam, nil non perfecisse Christianam.

“ At length the day spring from on high hath visited us with a religion, which has *God* for its *author*, *truth* for its *matter*, and *happiness* for its *end*; a religion which on principles truly Epicurean establishes the Stoic paradox of the sufficiency of virtue. Virtue alone is now sufficient

* Alluding to the New Testament he says, “ It has God for it’s author; salvation for it’s end; and truth, without any mixture of error, for it’s matter.

Letter to the Rev. Richard King, 25th Aug, 1703.—
Locke’s Works, vol. x, p. 306.

to secure our happiness in this world ; and yet happiness in another world is the proper end and motive of all virtue which is practised in this. We have at last therefore a foundation on which we may rest and build in safety : and as it is certain, that by the doctrines of ancient philosophy little or nothing was done for the good of mankind, so it is equally certain that nothing has been left undone for it by Christianity."

In this same belief, I bid you farewell for the present ; and subscribe myself,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful and affectionate friend,

Q. V.

8th. December, 1803.

APPENDIX.

THE
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11
A
DEFENCE
OF THE
CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
PROPRIETY
OF REQUIRING A
SUBSCRIPTION TO ARTICLES OF FAITH,
[BY EDMUND LORD BISHOP OF CARLISLE.]

IN REPLY
TO A LATE ANSWER,
1761-1773.
[BY THOMAS RANDOLPH, D. D. PRESIDENT OF C. C. C.
Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, & Archdeacon of Oxford,]

From the CLARENDON PRESS.

BY A FRIEND OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

[WILLIAM PALEY, M. A.
FELLOW AND TUTOR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.]

London:

FIRST PUBLISHED IN
MDCCLXXIV.

[*THE Defence of Bishop Law's Considerations on the propriety of requiring a Subscription to Articles of Faith*, though not the avowed production of Dr Paley's pen, bears very strong internal evidence of genuineness in its style and manner, and is besides registered as unquestionably his in authentic collections of the controversy to which it refers. This Tract indeed is rare and comparatively little known ; but its curiosity gives it consequence, and it is in too many hands to escape public notice from some quarter or other. In the mean while *Omne ignotum pro magnifico!* Obscurity, either of facts or of opinions, is a constant source of vulgar error, and has too frequently proved unfavourable to the reputation of eminent men.

The late venerable Archdeacon Blackburne, till the recent publication of his collected Works (in 1805), was generally represented as a socinian. He ac-

knowledge of a Lardner, and the more than suspected creed of a Newton and a Locke, though innocent in itself, was certainly injurious when so imputed. In those Works a very interesting paper has been inserted written by the Archdeacon in 1783; which at once refutes the charge of socinianism, and satisfactorily vindicates his own motives for continuing a minister of the established Church.*

A similar benefit may accrue to the memory of Dr Paley from the re-publication of his Tract on Subscription; as, independently of the merits of the argument which give it a just claim to be preserved, it will enable every reader to ascertain "the very head and front of his offending" on this delicate point, and to pass true judgment accordingly.

Of the Tract itself it may be safely asserted, that civil or religious controversy has rarely been conducted with equal candour and moderation; or the reasonings of an opponent so fairly exhibited and so clearly refuted. The principles maintained by Dr Paley on this occasion he never afterwards disclaimed, but re-stated and enforced the most material of his arguments, in the chapter *on religious establishments and*

* See an "Answer to the question, Why are you not a Socinian?" in vol. 1. p. cxx.

on toleration in his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*. The re-publication of this Tract too may serve to demonstrate the great controversial talents of the author. It was his first production from the press, and the only polemical treatise which he ever presented to the world : but it most satisfactorily evinces the extraordinary powers of the writer in argumentative discussion, whether applied to refute an adversary or to vindicate a friend.

In every liberal point of view, therefore, in which this interesting pamphlet can be contemplated, its publicity appears conducive to the author's fame, on some accounts necessary, and in no one respect discreditable. On the strength of these considerations, it has been judged more adviseable to re-publish the Tract entire and unmutilated, than merely to tantalize curiosity by an imperfect sketch of its contents : and thus too is preserved Dr Paley's share in a controversy by far the most important which has occurred in the modern history of the Church of England.

EDITOR.]

A
D E F E N C E
&c.

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THE fair way of conducting a dispute, is to exhibit one by one the arguments of your opponent, and with each argument the precise and specific answer you are able to give it. If this method be not so common, nor found so convenient as might be expected, the reason is, because it suits not always with the designs of a writer, which are no more perhaps than to make a *book* ; to confound some arguments, and keep others out of sight ; to leave what is called an *impression* upon the reader, without any care to inform him of the proofs or principles by which his opinion should be governed. With such views, it may be consistent to dispatch objections, by observing of some *that they are old*, and therefore like certain drugs have lost, we may suppose, their strength ; of others, that *they have long since received an answer* ; which implies, to be sure, a confutation : to attack straggling remarks, and decline the

main reasoning, as *mere declamation*; to pass by one passage because it is *long-winded*, another because the answerer *has neither leisure nor inclination to enter into the discussion of it*; to produce extracts and quotations, which taken alone, imperfectly if at all express their author's meaning; to dismiss a stubborn difficulty with a *reference*, which ten to one the reader never looks at; and lastly, in order to give the whole a certain fashionable air of candour and moderation, to make a concession* or two, which nobody thanks him for, or yield up a few points which it is no longer any credit to maintain.

How far the writer with whom we have to do is concerned in this description, his readers will judge; he shall receive, however, from us that justice which he has not shewn the author of the *Considerations*, to have his arguments fully and distinctly stated and examined.

After complaining, as is usual on these occasions, of *disappointment* and dissatisfaction; the Answerer sets out with an argument which comprises, we are told, in a *narrow compass*, the whole merits of the question betwixt us; and which is neither more nor less than this, that *it is necessary that those who are to be ordained teachers in the church should be sound*

* Such as, *that if people keep their opinions to themselves, no man will hurt them*, and the like. Answer, p. 45.

in the faith, and consequently that they should give to those who ordain them some proof and assurance that they are so, and that the method of this proof should be settled by public authority.—Now the perfection of this sort of reasoning is, that it comes as well from the mouth of the *Pope's* professor of divinity in the university of *Bologna*, as from the *Glarendon* press. A church has only with our author to call her creed the *faithful word*, and it follows from scripture that *we must hold it fast*. Her dissatisfied sons, let her only denominate, as he does,* *vain talkers and deceivers*, and St *Paul* himself commands us to *stop their mouths*. Every one that questions or opposes her decisions she pronounces, with him, a heretic, and *a man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition reject*. In like manner, calling her tenets *sound doctrine*, or taking it for granted that they are so (which the conclave at *Rome* can do as well as the convocation at *London*) and *soundness in the faith being a necessary qualification in a Christian teacher*, there is no avoiding the conclusion, that every *Christian teacher* (in and out of the church too, if you can catch him, *soundness in the faith* being alike necessary in all) must have these tenets strapped about his neck by oaths and subscriptions. An argument which thus fights in any cause, or on either

* Page 18.

side, deserves no quarter.—I have said that this reasoning, and these applications of scripture are equally competent to the defenders of *popery*—they are more so. The Popes, when they assumed the power of the Apostles, laid claim also to their intallibility; and in this they were consistent. Protestant churches renounce with all their might this intallibility, whilst they apply to themselves every expression that describes it, and will not part with a jot of the authority which is built upon it.—But to return to the terms of the argument. *Is it necessary that a Christian teacher should be sound in the faith?*

1. Not in nine instances out of ten to which the test is now extended. Nor

2. If it were, is this the way to make him so; there being as little probability that the determinations of a set of men whose good fortune had advanced them to high stations in the church should be right, as the conclusions of private enquirers. Nor

3. Were they actually right, is it possible to conceive how they can, upon this author's principles, produce the effect contended for. Since *we set them not up* as a rule of faith*; since *they do not decide matters for us, nor bind them upon us*; since *they tie no man up from altering his opinion*, are *no ways inconsistent with the right of private judgment*, are in a word,

* P. 10, 11, 13, 29.

of no more authority than an old sermon ; nor consequently much more effectual, either for the producing or securing of *soundness in the faith*.

The Answerer not trusting altogether to the strength of his *argument*, endeavours next to avail himself of a *concession* which he has gained, he imagines, from his adversary, and which he is pleased to look upon *as in a manner giving up the main point*. Our business, therefore, will be to shew what this concession, as he calls it, amounts to, and wherein it differs from the *main point*, the requisition of subscription to established formularies. It is objected to the articles of the church of England, that they are at variance with the actual opinions both of the governors and members of that church ; so much so, that the men who most faithfully and explicitly maintain these articles, get persecuted for their singularity, excluded from orders, driven from universities, and are compelled to preach the established religion, in fields and conventicles. Now this objection, which must cleave to every *fixed* formulary, might, we conceive, be removed if a test was substituted, supposing any test to be insisted upon, which could adapt itself to the opinions, and keep pace with the improvements of each succeeding age. This, in some measure, would be the case if the governors of the church for the time being, were

authorised to receive from candidates for orders, declarations of their religious principles in their own words, and allowed, at their discretion, to admit them into the ministry. Bishops, being taken out of the lump of the community, will generally be of the same leaven, and partake, both of the opinions and moderation of the times they live in.—This is the most that can be made of the concession, and how this gives up the *main point*, or indeed any thing, it is not easy to discover.

The next paragraph of the Answer attacks the account which the *Considerations* have given of the *rise* and *progress* of the custom in question, the *reverse of which* the Answerer tell us *is the truth*, and by way of proof gives his own account of the matter, which, so far from being the *reverse*, is in effect, or very nearly, the same.

The reader shall see the two accounts side by side, and is desired to judge whether the author of the *Considerations*, so far from being confuted in this point, is even contradicted.

<p>“The protestants, aware how greatly they were misrepresented and abused, began to think it necessary to repel the various calumnies that had been cast up-</p>	<p>“As some who set up for reformers, had broached many erroneous and pestilent doctrines; the <i>lutherans</i> first, and, after their example, other pro-</p>
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on them, by setting forth some public constitutions or confessions, as a declaration of their faith and worship. And to make such declarations still more authentic, they likewise engaged themselves in a mutual bond of conformity to all these constitutions."

Considerations, page 6, testant churches, thought fit to draw up confessions of faith. And this they did, partly to acquit themselves of the scandal of a betting wild and seditious enthusiasts, and declaring what were their real doctrines : partly (observe how tenderly this is introduced) to prevent such enthusiasts on the one hand, and popish emissaries on the other, from intruding themselves into the ministry.

Answer, page 6, 7.

Now were the *origin* of a custom of more consequence than it is to a question concerning the *propriety* of it, can any one doubt who credits even the Answerer's own account, but that the motive assigned in the *Considerations* both did exist, and was the principal motive. There is one account, indeed, of the *origin* of this custom which, were it true, would directly concern the question. *This practice*, our author tells us in another part of his *Answer*,*

* Page 19.

is said to be derived from the Apostles: themselves. I care not what *is said*.—It is impossible that the practice complained of, the imposition of articles of faith by *fallible* men, could originate from the Apostles, who, under the direction by which they acted, were *infallible*.*

But this practice, from whatever *root of bitterness* it sprung, has been one of the chief causes, we assert, of the divisions and distresses which we read of in ecclesiastical history. The matter of fact our

* How a creed is to be made, as the Considerations recommend, in which all parties shall agree, our author cannot understand. I will tell him how; by adhering to scripture terms: and this will suit the best idea of a creed (a summary or compendium of a larger volume) and the only fair purpose of one, *instruction*.

It is observed in the Considerations, that the multiplicity of the propositions contained in the 39 articles is alone sufficient to shew the impossibility of that consent which the church supposes and requires.—Now, what would any man guess is the answer to this? *Why, that there are no less than three propositions in the very first verse of St John's Gospel.* Had there been *three thousand* it would have been nothing to the purpose: where propositions are received upon the authority of the proposer, it matters not how many of them there are; the doubt is not increased with the number; the same reason which establishes one establishes all. But is this the case with a system of propositions which derives no evidence from the proposer? which must each stand upon its own separate and intrinsic proof?—We thought it necessary to oppose note to note in the place in which we found it, though neither here nor in the Answer is it much connected with the text.

author does not, because he cannot, deny. He rather chuses to insinuate that *such divisions and disturbances were not owing to the governors of the church, but to the perverse disputings of heretics and schismatics.*—He *must* know, that there is oppression as well as resistance, provocation as well as resentment, abuse of power as well as opposition to it ; and it is too much to take for granted, without one syllable of proof, that those in possession of power have been always in the right, and those who withstood them in the wrong.

Divisions and disturbances have in fact, and in all ages, arisen on this account, and it is a poor shift to say, because it may always be said, that such only are chargeable with these mischiefs as refused to submit to whatever their superiors thought proper to impose.*

Nor is it much better what he tells us, *that these*

* The following sentiment of our author's is too curious to be omitted ; "*Possibly too he* (the author of the Considerations) *may think that insurrections and rebellions in the state are not owing to the unruliness of factious subjects, but to kings and rulers ; but most reasonable men, I believe, will think otherwise.*"—A common reader may think this observation of the Answerer a little beside the question. But the Answerer may say, with *Cicero* and *Dr King*, "*Suscepto negocio, majus mihi quiddam proposui, in quo meam in rempublicam voluntatem populus perspicere posset.*" Motte to *Dr K's Oration* in 1749.

subtilties of metaphysical debate, which we complain of in our articles, were introduced by the several heretics of those times ; especially as it is evident that whoever first introduced, it is the governors of the church who still continue them.

But our author cannot conceive what all this, as relating to *creeds* only and *confessions* ; to the *terms of communion*, rather than of admission into the ministry, is to the purpose. Will he then give up *creeds* and *confessions* ? or will his church thank him for it if he does ?—A church which, by transfusing the substance of her articles into the form of her public worship, has in effect made the *terms of communion* and of admission into the ministry the same.—This question, like every other, however naked you may strip it by abstraction, must always be considered with a reference to the practice you wish to reform.

The author of the *Considerations* contends very properly that it is one of the first duties a Christian owes to his Master *to keep his mind open and unbiassed* in religious enquiries. Can a man be said to do this, who must bring himself to assent to opinions proposed by another ? Who enters into a profession where both his subsistence and success depend upon his continuance in a particular persuasion ? In answer to this we are informed, that these articles are

no *rule of faith* (what not to those who subscribe them?) that *the church deprives no man of his right of private judgment* (she cannot—she hangs however a dead weight upon it); that it is a *very unfair state of the case to call subscription a declaration of our full and final persuasion in matters of faith*; though if it be not a *full* persuasion, what is it? and ten to one it will be *final*, when such consequences attend a change.—That, *no man is hereby tied up from impartially examining the word of God*, i. e. with the *impartiality* of a man who must *eat or starve*, according as the examination turns out; an *impartiality* so suspected, that a court of justice would not receive his evidence under half of the same influence;—*nor from altering his opinion if he finds reason so to do*; which few, I conceive, will *find*, when the alteration must cost them so dear. If one could give credit to our author in what he says here, and in some other passages of his *Answer*, one would suppose that, in his judgment at least, subscription restrained no man from adopting what opinion he pleased, provided *he does not think himself bound openly to maintain it*; that *men may retain their preferments, if they will but keep their opinions to themselves*.—If this be what the church of England means, let her say so.—This is indeed what our author admits here, and yet from the outcry he has afterwards raised against all who

continue in the church whilst they dissent from her articles, one would not suppose there was a pardon left for those, who *keep even to themselves an opinion* inconsistent with any one proposition they have subscribed. The fact is, the gentleman has either shifted his opinion in the course of writing the Answer, or had put down these assertions, not expecting that he should have occasion afterwards to contradict them.

It seemed to add strength to this objection that the judgment of most thinking men being in a progressive state, their opinions of course must many of them change; the evil and iniquity of which the Answerer sets forth with great pleasantry, but has forgot at the same time to give us any remedy for the misfortune; except the old woman's receipt to leave off thinking for fear of thinking wrong.

But our church *preaches*, it seems, *no other gospel than that which she received*, nor *propounds any other articles for gospel*, nor *fixes any standards or criterions of faith, separate from this gospel*; and so she herself *fully declares*; and we are to take her word for it, when the very complaint is, that she has never *acted* up to this declaration, but in direct contradiction to it.—When she puts forth a system of propositions conceived in a new dialect, and in unscriptural terms; when she ascribes to these the same evidence and

certainty as to scripture itself, or decrees and acts as if they were equally evident and certain, she incurs, we apprehend, the charge which these expressions imply.—She claims indeed *authority in controversies of faith*, but *only so far*, says her apologist, *as to judge for herself what shall be her own terms of communion, and what qualifications she shall require in her own ministers*. All which, in plainer English, comes to this; that two or three men betwixt two and three centuries ago, fixed a multitude of obscure and dubious propositions, which many millions after must bring themselves to believe, before they be permitted to share in the provision which the state has made (and to which all of every sect contribute) for regular opportunities of public worship, and the giving and receiving of public instruction. And this our author calls the magistrate's *judging for himself*,* and exercising the *same right as all other persons have to judge for themselves*. For the reasonableness of it however he has nothing to offer, but that it is *no more than what other churches, popish too*, to strengthen the argument, *as well as protestant*, have done before. He might have added, seeing *custom* is to determine the matter, that it has been *customary* too from early ages for Christians to anathematise and burn each other for difference of opinion in some points of

* Page 26.

faith, and for difference of practice in some points of ceremony.

We now accompany the learned Answerer to what he is pleased to call the *main question*, and which he *is so much puzzled to keep in sight*. The argument* in favour of subscription, and the arbitrary exclusion of men from the church or ministry, drawn from the nature of a society and the rights incidental to society, our author resigns to its fate, and to the answer which has been given it in the *Considerations*. He contends only, that the conduct of the Apostles in admitting the *eunuch* and the *centurion* upon a general profession of their faith in Christ, *has nothing to do with the case of subscription*, as they were admitted, not into the ministry, but only the communion of the church. Now, in the first place, suppose the *eunuch* or *centurion* had taken upon them, as probably they did, to embrace Christianity, would they have been inhibited by the Apostles as not having given sufficient *proof or assurance of their soundness in the faith*? And if not, what becomes of the necessity of such *assurances from a Christian teacher*? In the second place, suppose you consider

* What would any man in his wits think of this argument, if upon the strength of it they were to make a law, that none but red haired people should be admitted into orders, or even into churches?

the church as one society, and its teachers as another, is it probable that these who were so tender in keeping any one out of the first, would have thought the argument we were encountering, or any thing else, a pretence for a right of arbitrary exclusion from the latter? The case of *Cornelius*, says our author, is *extraordinary*; while *St Peter* was preaching to him, the *Holy Ghost* fell upon all them which heard the word. And is not this author ashamed to own, that any are excluded from the communion, or even ministry, of the church, who would have been entitled by their faith to the gifts of the *Holy Ghost*?

The Answerer in the next paragraph acknowledges, that to admit converts into the church upon this one article of faith, that *Jesus* is *the Messiah*, was indeed the practice of the Apostles;* but then

* Although the question, whether to believe that *Jesus* is the Messiah be not the only necessary article of faith, is a question in which we have no concern; our author, with the best inclination in the world, not being able to fix such an opinion upon us. Yet I cannot help observing, that he has put two of the oddest constructions upon the terms of the proposition that ever entered into the fancy of man to conceive. One is, which you may be sure he intends for his adversaries,† *that it is necessary to believe Jesus to be a true prophet; yet not necessary to believe one doctrine that he has taught.* The other, which he means for himself, is that *by the Messiah we are to understand the only begotten son of God anointed and sent by the Father to make propitiation for the sins of the whole world.*

he tells us, what must sound a little odd to a Christian ear, and comes the more awkwardly from this author, whom if you turn over a page, you will find quoting the *practice of the Apostles* with a vengeance: he tells us, I say, *that no argument can be drawn from the practice of the Apostles.** Now with regard to the *practice of the Apostles*, and the application of it to ourselves, the case seems to be this (the very reverse, observe, of our author's rule) that we are always bound not *to go beyond* the precedent, though, for want of the same authority, we may not always *advance up to it*.—It surely at least becomes us to be cautious of *proceeding*, where they in the plentitude of their commission thought proper to *stop*.

It is alledged in the Considerations, that annexing emoluments to the profession of particular opinions is a strong and dangerous inducement to prevarication; and the danger is the greater, as prevarication in one instance has a tendency to relax the most sacred obligations, and make way for perfidy in every other. But *this*, it seems, *has nothing to do with the question*.† Why it is the *very* question, whether the magistrate ought to confine the provision he makes for religion to those who assent, or declare their assent, to a particular system of controverted divinity; and this is one direct objection against it.

* P. 16. † P. 19, 20.

But *must the magistrate then*, exclaims our alarmed adversary, *establish no tythes, no rich benefices, no dignities or bishopricks?* As many as he pleases, only let him not convert them into snares and traps by idle and unnecessary conditions. *But must he admit all persons indiscriminately to these advantages?* The author of the Considerations has told him, that he may require conformity to the liturgy, rites, and offices he shall prescribe: he may trust his officers with a discretion as to the religious principles of candidates for orders, similar to what they now exercise with regard to their qualifications; he may censure extravagant preaching when it *appears*; precautions surely sufficient either to keep the *wildest sectaries* out of the church, or prevent their doing any mischief if they get in. The exclusion of papists is a separate consideration. The laws against popery, as far as they are justifiable, proceed upon principles with which the author of the Considerations has nothing to do. Where, from the particular circumstances of a country, attachments and dispositions hostile and dangerous to the state, are accidentally or otherwise connected with certain opinions in religion, it may be necessary to lay incumbrances and restraints upon the profession, or propagation of such opinions. Where *a great part* of any sect or religious order of men are enemies to the constitu-

tion, and you have no way of distinguishing those who are not so, it is right, perhaps, to fence the *whole* order out of your civil and religious establishment : it is the right at least of self defence, and of extreme necessity. But even this is not on account of the religious opinions themselves, but as they are probable marks, and the only marks you have, of designs and principles which it is necessary to disarm. I would observe, however, that in proportion as this connection between the civil and religious principles of the papists is dissolved, in the same proportion ought the state to mitigate the hardships and relax the restraints to which they are made subject.*

If we complain of *severities*, of *pains* and *penalties*, the Answerer cannot discover *whom* or *what* we mean : and lest his reader should, by a figure extremely well known in the craft of controversy, he proposes a string of questions in the person of his adversary, to which he gives his own peremptory and definitive no.† We will take a method, not altogether so compendious, but, we trust, somewhat more satisfactory. We will repeat the same questions, and let the church and state answer for themselves ; First then,

Does our church or our government inflict any corporal

[* See the Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, vol. II. p. 341. Editor.]

† P. 21.

punishment, or levy any fines or penalties on those who will not comply with the terms of her communion?—

“BE IT ENACTED, that all and every person or persons that shall neglect or refuse to receive the sacrament of the Lord’s supper according to the usage of the church of England, and yet, after such neglect or refusal, shall execute any office or offices, civil or military, after the times be expired wherein he or they ought to have taken the same, shall, upon conviction thereof, besides the loss of the office, forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds.*” Stat. 25. Car. II. c. 2. Now, although starving be no *corporal punishment*, nor the loss of all a man has a *fine* or *penalty*, yet depriving men of the common benefits of society, and rights even of lay subjects, because *they will not comply with the terms of church communion*, is a severity that might have deserved from our author some other apology besides the mere suppression of the fact.

2. *Doth it deny them the right or privilege of worshipping God in their own way?—*“WHOEVER shall take upon him to preach or teach in any meeting, assembly or conventicle, and shall thereof be con-

* This and the corporation act, an otherwise excellent person calls the laws which secure both our civil and religious liberties. Blackstone’s Comm. vol. iv. p. 439.

“victed, shall forfeit for the first offence twenty
 “pounds, and for every other offence forty pounds.”
 Stat. 22. Car. II. cap. 1.—“No person shall pre-
 “sume to consecrate or administer the sacrament of
 “the Lord’s supper before he be ordained priest,
 “after the manner of the church of England, on
 “pain of forfeiting one hundred pounds for every
 “such offence.” Stat. 13. & 14. Car. II. c. 4.—
 These laws are in full force against all who do not
 subscribe the 39 articles of the church of England,
 except the 34th. 35th. and 36th. and part of the
 20th. article.

3. *Are men denied the liberty of free debate?—*
 “IF ANY PERSON having been educated in, or at
 “any time having made profession of the Christian
 “faith within the realm, shall by writing, printing,
 “teaching, or advised speaking, deny any one of the
 “persons of the holy trinity to be God—he shall for
 “the first offence be disabled to hold any office or
 “employment, or any profit appertaining thereto ;
 “for the second offence shall be disabled to prose-
 “cute any action or information in any court of law
 “or equity, or to be guardian of any child, or ex-
 “ecutor or administrator of any person, or capable
 “of any legacy, or deed of gift, or to bear any office
 “for ever within this realm, and shall also suffer
 “imprisonment for the space of three years from the

“time of such conviction.” Stat. 9. & 10. Will. III. c. 32.

It has been thought to detract considerably from the pretended use of these subscriptions, that they excluded none but the conscientious : a species of men more wanted, we conceive, than formidable to any religious establishment. This objection applies equally, says our Answerer,* to the *oaths of allegiance and supremacy* ; and so far as it does apply, it ought to be attended to ; and the truth is, these *oaths* might in many instances be spared without either danger or detriment to the community. There is, however, an essential difference between the two cases ; a scruple concerning the *oath of allegiance* implies principles which may excite to acts of hostility against the state, a scruple about the truth of the *articles* implies no such thing.†

Our author, good man, *is well persuaded, that the generality of the clergy, when they offer themselves for ordination, consider seriously what office they take upon them, and firmly believe what they subscribe to.* I am persuaded much otherwise. But as this is a *fact*, the reader, if he be wise, will neither take the Answer-

* Page 22.

† The Answerer might have found a parallel below in some other oaths, which he does not care to speak of, viz, the case of college statutes, page 34 of the Considerations.

er's word for it nor mine : but from his own judgment from his own observation. Bishop Burnet complained above 60 years ago, that the *greater part*, even then, *subscribed the articles without ever examining them,** and others did it because they must do it. Is it probable, that in point either of seriousness or orthodoxy the clergy are much mended since ?

The pleas offered in support of this practice of subscription come next to be considered. "One of these is drawn from the sacred writings being capable of such a variety of senses, that men of widely different persuasions shelter themselves under the same forms of expression." Our author, after quarrelling with this representation of the plea, gives his readers in its stead a long quotation from the *Archdeacon of Oxford's† Charge.‡*—What he is to gain by the change, or the quotation, I cannot perceive, as the same first query still recurs, "Is it true that the scriptures are in reality so differently inter-

* Burnet's history of his own times. Conclusion.

[† Dr Thomas Randolph, who published in December 1771, *The reasonableness of requiring subscription to articles of religion from persons to be admitted to holy orders, or a cure of souls, vindicated in a Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Oxford, in the same year, and in May, 1774, though without his name, the Answer to Bishop Law's Considerations, which occasioned the present Defence.* Edit.]

‡ See this whole Charge answered in the *London chronicle*|| by *Priscilla*.—The Lord hath sold Sisera into the hand of a Woman!

[|| Dec. 26, 1771, Jan. 4, and 18, and April 28, 1772. *Edu.*]

preted in points of real consequence?" In answer to which, the *Archdeacon of Oxford*, we are told, *has shewn that points of real consequence are differently interpreted, and the plainest texts explained away, and has instanced—in the first chapter of St. John's Gospel.*—The plea we conceive is not much indebted to the *Archdeacon of Oxford*.—But be these scriptures interpreted as they will, each man has still a right to interpret them for himself. The church of *Rome*, who always pushed her conclusions with a courage and consistency unknown to the timid patrons of protestant imposition, saw immediately that as the laity had no right to interpret the scriptures, they could have no occasion to read them, and therefore very properly locked them up from the intrusion of popular curiosity. Our author cites the above mentioned query from the *Considerations* as the *first* query which would lead his reader to expect a *second*. The reader, however, may seek that *second* for himself; the Answerer is not obliged to produce it.—It stands thus. Suppose the scriptures thus variously interpreted, does subscription mend the matter?—The reader too is left to find an answer for himself.

The next, the strongest, the only tolerable plea for subscription is, *that all sorts of pestilent heresies might be taught from the pulpit, if no such restraint as*

*this was laid upon the preacher.** How far it is probable that this would be the consequence of removing subscription, and by what other means it might be guarded against, has been hinted already, and will again be considered in another place. We will here only take notice of one particular expedient suggested in the Considerations, and which has often indeed elsewhere been proposed, namely “that the church, instead of requiring subscription beforehand to the present, or to any other articles of faith, might censure her clergy afterwards, if they opposed or vilified them in their preaching.”—The advantage of which scheme above the present is manifest, if it was only for this reason, that you distress and corrupt thousands now, for one that you would ever have occasion to punish. Our author nevertheless *is humbly of opinion that it is much better to take proper precautions before hand*: he must, with all his *humility*, know that when it has been proposed to take proper precautions of the *press*, by subjecting authors to an *imprimatur before* publication, instead of punishment *after* it; the proposal has been represented as an open attack upon the rights and interests of mankind. The common sense and spirit of the nation could see and feel this distinction, and the importance of it, in the case of publishers; and why

* Page 26.

preachers should be left in a worse situation it is not very easy to say?

The example of the *arminian* confession is, upon this occasion, recommended by the author of the *Considerations*; a confession which was compiled for the edification and instruction of the members of that church, without peremptorily insisting upon any one's *assent* to it. But it is the misfortune of the *arminian* to be no national church—the misfortune, alas! of Christianity herself in her purest period; when she was under the government of the Apostles; without *alliance* with the states of this world; when she composed nevertheless a church as real, we conceive and as respectable as any *national* church that has existed since.

Our author, who can much sooner make a distinction than see one, does not comprehend, it seems, any difference between confessions of faith and *preaching*, as to the use of unscriptural terms. Did a preacher, when he had finished his sermon, call upon his congregation to subscribe their names and assent to it, or never to come more within the doors of his church; there would indeed be some sort of resemblance betwixt the two cases; but as the hearers are at liberty to believe their preacher or no, as they see, or he produces reasons, for what he says; there can be no harm, and there is a manifest

utility, in trusting him with the liberty of explaining his own meaning in his own terms.

We now come, and with the tenderest regret, to the case of those who continue in the church without being able to reconcile to their belief every proposition imposed upon them by subscription; over whose distress our author is pleased to indulge a wanton and ungenerous triumph. They had presumed, it seems, that it was some apology for their conduct, that they sincerely laboured to render to religion their best services, and thought their present stations the fairest opportunities of performing it.—This may not, perhaps, amount to a complete vindication, it certainly does not fully satisfy even their own scruples; else where would be the cause of complaint? what need of relief, or what reason for their petitions? it might have been enough, however, to have exempted them from being absurdly and indecently compared with faithless *hypocrites*, with *papists*, and *jesuits*, who, for other purposes, and with even opposite designs, are supposed to creep into the church through the same door. For the fullest and fairest representation of their case, I refer our author to the excellent *Hoadly*,* or as *Hoadly* possibly may be no book in our author's library, will it provoke his *raillery* to ask, what he

[* Reasonableness of Conformity to the Church of England, 4th. edition, p. 138—165. Editor.]

think might be the consequence, if all were at once to withdraw themselves from the church who are dissatisfied with her doctrines? might not the church lose, what she can ill spare, the service of many able and industrious ministers? Would those, she retained, be such as acquiesced in her decisions from enquiry and conviction? would not many or most of them, be those, who keep out of the way of religious scruples by lives of *secularity* and voluptuousness? by inixing with the crowd, in the most eager of their pursuits after pleasure or advantage?—one word with the Answerer before we part upon this head.—Whence all this great inquisitiveness, this solicitude to be acquainted with the person, the opinions, and associates of his adversary? whence that impertinent wish, that he had been *more explicit in particular with regard to the doctrine of the trinity*? is it out of a pious desire to fasten some heresy, or the imputation of it, upon him? is he *called out of the clouds* to be committed to the flames.*

* We were unwilling to decline the defence of the persons here described, though the expression in the Considerations which brought on the attack, manifestly related to a different subject. The author of the Considerations speaks of *being bound to keep up* these forms until relieved by proper authority; of *ministerially* complying with what we are not able to remove: alluding, no doubt, to the case of *church governors*, who are the instruments of imposing a subscription which they may disapprove. But the

The 40th. page of the Answer introduces a paragraph of considerable length, the sum however and substance of which is this—that if subscription to articles of faith were removed, confusion would ensue ; the people would be distracted with the disputes of their teachers, and the pulpits filled with controversy and contradiction.—Upon this *fact* we join issue, and the more readily as this is a sort of reasoning we all understand.—The extent of the legislator's right may be an abstruse enquiry, but whether a law does more good or harm, is a plain question which every man can ask. Now, that distressing many of the clergy, and corrupting others ;—that keeping out of churches, good Christians and faithful citizens ;—that making parties in the state, by giving occasion to sects and separations in religion ;—that these are inconveniences, no man in his senses will deny. The *question therefore is, what advantage* do you find in the opposite scale to balance these inconveniences ? the simple advantage pretended is, that you hereby prevent *wrangling* and contention in the pulpit. Now, in the first place, I observe that allowing this evil to be as grievous and as certain as you please, the most that can be neces-

Answerer, taking it for granted, that *ministerially complying* meant the *compliance of ministers*, i. e. of clergymen officiating in their functions, has, by a quibble, or a blunder, transferred the passage to a sense for which it was not intended.

sary for the prevention of it is, to enjoin your preachers, as to such points, silence and neutrality. In the next place, I am convinced, that the danger is greatly magnified. We hear little of these points at present in our churches and public teaching, and it is not probable that leaving them at large would elevate them into more importance, or make it more worth men's while to quarrel about them.—They would sleep in the same grave with many other questions, of equal importance with themselves, or sink back into their proper place, into topics of speculation, or matters of debate from the press. None but men of some reflection would be forward to engage in such subjects, and the least reflection would teach a man that *preaching* is not the proper vehicle of controversy :—even at present, says our author, *we speak and write what we please with impunity* ; and where is the mischief? or what worse could ensue if subscription were removed?—Nor can I discover any thing in the disposition of the petitioning clergy that need alarm our apprehensions. If they are impatient under the yoke, it is not from a desire to hold forth their opinions to their congregations, but that they may be at liberty to entertain them themselves without offence to their consciences, or ruin to their fortunes.

Our author has added, by way of *make weight* to his argument, *that many common Christians, he believes,*

would be greatly scandalized if you take away their creeds and catechisms, and strike out of the liturgy such things as they have always esteemed essential.* Whatever reason there may be for this *belicf* at present, there certainly was much greater at the reformation, as the popish ritual which was then *taken away*, had a fascination and antiquity which ours cannot pretend to. Many were probably *scandalized* at parting with their beads and their mass-books, that lived afterwards to thank those who taught them better things. Reflection we hope in some, and time we are sure in all, will reconcile men to alterations established in reason. If there be any danger, it is from some of the clergy, who with the Answerer would rather suffer the *vineyard* to be overgrown with *weeds*, than *stir the ground*, or what is worse, call these weeds *the fairest flowers in the garden*. Such might be ready enough to raise a hue and cry against all innovators in religion, as *overturners of churches* and *spoilers of temples*.

But the cause, which of all others stood most in the way of the late petitions for relief, was an apprehension that religious institutions cannot be disturbed without awakening animosities and dissensions in the state ; of which no man knows the consequence.

* P. 42.—41.

Touch but religion, we are told, and it bursts forth into a flame. Civil distractions may be composed by fortitude and perseverance, but neither reason nor authority can controul, there is neither charm nor drug, which will assuage, the passions of mankind when called forth in the cause, and to the battles of religion. We were concerned to hear this language from *some* who in other instances have manifested a constancy and resolution which no confusion, nor ill aspect of public affairs could intimidate.—After all, is there any real foundation for these terrors? is not this whole danger like the lion of the slothful, the creature of our fears, and the excuse of indolence? was it proposed to *make* articles, instead of *removing* them, there would be room for the objection. But it is obvious that subscription to the 39 articles might be altered or withdrawn, upon general principles of justice and expediency, without reviving one religious controversy; or calling into dispute a single proposition they contain. Who should excite disturbances? those who are relieved, will not: and unless subscription were like a tax which being taken from one, must be laid with additional weight upon another, is it probable that any will complain that they are oppressed, because their brethren are relieved? or that those who are so *strong*

in the faith will refuse to bear with the infirmities of the weak? the few who upon principles of this sort opposed the application of the dissenters, were repulsed from parliament with disdain, even by those who were no friends to the application itself.

The question concerning the object of worship is attended, I confess, with difficulty: it seems almost directly to divide the worshippers. But let the church pare down her excrescencies till she comes to this question; let her discharge from her liturgy controversies unconnected with devotion; let her try what may be done for all sides by worshipping God in that generality * of expression in which he himself

* If a Christian can think it an intolerable thing to worship one God through one mediator *Jesus Christ*, in company with any such as differ from him in their notions about the metaphysical nature of *Christ*, or of the *Holy Ghost*, or the like; I am sorry for it. I remember the like objection made at the beginning of the reformation by the *lutherans* against the lawfulness of communicating with *Zuinglius* and his followers; because they had not the same notion with them of the elements in the sacrament. And there was the same objection once against holding communion with any such as had not the same notions with themselves about the secret decrees of God relating to the predestination and reprobation of particular persons. But whatever those men may please themselves with thinking, who are sure they are arrived at the perfect knowledge of the most abstruse points, this they may be certain of, that in the present state of the church even supposing only such as are accounted orthodox to be joined together in one

has left some points ; let her dismiss many of her articles, and convert those which she retains into terms of peace ; let her recall the terrors she has suspended over freedom of enquiry ; let the toleration she allows to dissenters be made *absolute* ; let her invite men to search the scriptures ; let her governors encourage the studious and learned of all persuasions :—let her do this—and she will be secure of the thanks of her own clergy, and what is more, of their sincerity. A greater consent may grow out of enquiry than many at present are aware of, and the few who, after all, shall think it necessary to recede from our communion, will acknowledge the necessity to be inevitable ; will respect the equity and moderation of the established church, and live in peace with all its members.*

I know not whether I ought to mention, among so many more serious reasons, that even the governors

visible communion, they communicate together with a very great variety and confusion of notions, either comprehending nothing plain and distinct, or differing from one another as truly and as essentially as others differ from them all : nay with more certain difference with relation to the object of worship than if all prayers were directed (as bishop *Bull* says, almost all were in the first ages) to God or the Father, through the Son. *Hoadly's Answer to Mr. Hare's Sermon.*

[* For the author's further opinions on religious establishments and toleration, see the Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, book vi. chapter 10. *Editor.*]

of the church themselves would find their ease and account in consenting to an alteration.—For besides the difficulty of defending those decayed fortifications, and the indecency of deserting them, they either are, or will soon find themselves in the situation of a master of a family, whose servants know more of his secrets than it is proper for them to know, and whose whispers and whose threats must be bought off at an expence which will drain the *apostolic chamber* dry. Having thus examined in their order, and as far as I understood them, the several answers*

* In his last note our author breaks forth into *astonishment* and indignation, at the *folly, injustice and indecency* of comparing our church to the Jewish in our Saviour's time, and even to the *tower of Babel*. Mistaking the church, in this last comparison, for one of her *monuments* (which, indeed, with most people of his complexion, stands for the same thing) erected to prevent our dispersion from that grand centre of catholic dominion; or in the words of a late celebrated castle builder, *to keep us together*. If there be any *indecency* in such a comparison, it must be chargeable on those who lead us to it, by making use of the same terms with the original architects, and to which the author of the *Considerations* evidently alludes. This detached note is concluded with as detached, and no less curious an observation, which the writer thinks may be a *sufficient answer* to the whole, namely, that the author of the *Considerations* has wrought no miracles for the conviction of the *Answerer* and his associates. For what purpose this observation can be *sufficient*, it is not easy to guess, except it be designed to insinuate, what may perhaps really be the case, that no less than a miracle

given by our author to the objections against the present mode of subscription, it now remains, by way of summing up the evidence, to bring *forward* certain other arguments contained in the Considerations, to which no answer has been attempted. It is contended then,

I. That stating any doctrine in a confession of faith with a greater degree of *precision* than the scriptures have done, is in effect to say, that the scriptures have not stated it with *precision* enough ; in other words, that the scriptures are not sufficient.—*Mere declamation.*

II. That this experiment of leaving men at liberty, and points of doctrine at large, has been attended with the improvement of religious knowledge, where and whenever it has been tried. And to this cause, so far as we can see, is owing the advantage which protestant countries in this respect possess above their popish neighbours.—*No answer.*

III. That keeping people out of churches, who might be admitted, consistently with every end of public worship, and excluding men from communion who desire to embrace it, upon the terms that God prescribes, is certainly not encouraging, but will serve to cast out that kind of spirit which has taken so full possession of them ; or ever bring them to a sound mind, and a sincere love of truth.

rather causing men to *forsake the assembling of themselves together.*—*No answer.*

IV. That men are deterred from searching the scriptures by the fear of finding there more or less than they looked for ; that is, something inconsistent with what they have already given their assent to, and must, at their peril abide by.—*No answer.*

V. That it is not giving truth a fair chance to decide points at one certain time, and by one set of men, which had much better be left to the successive enquiries of different ages and different persons.—*No answer.*

VI. That it tends to multiply infidels amongst us, by exhibiting Christianity under a form, and in a system which many are disgusted with, who yet will not be at the pains to enquire after any other.—*No answer.*

At the conclusion of his pamphlet our author is pleased to acknowledge what few, I find, care any longer to deny, *that there are some things in our articles and liturgy which he should be glad to see amended, many which he should be willing to give up to the scruples of others,* but that the heat and violence with which redress has been pursued, preclude all hope of accommodation and tranquillity—that *we had better wait therefore for more peaceable times and be contented with our present constitution as it is,* until a fairer pros-

pect shall appear of changing it for the better.—
 After returning thanks, in the name of the *fraternity*,
 to him and to all who touch the burden of subscrip-
 tion with but one of their fingers, I would wish to
 leave with them this observation, that as the man who
 attacks a flourishing establishment writes with a hal-
 ter round his neck, few ever will be found to at-
 tempt alterations but men of more spirit than pru-
 dence, of more sincerity than caution, of warm,
 eager, and impetuous tempers ; that, consequently,
 if we are to wait for improvement till the cool, the
 calm, the discreet part of mankind begin it, till church
 governors solicit, or ministers of state propose it—
 I will venture to pronounce, that (without *his* inter-
 position with whom nothing is impossible) we may
 remain as we are, till the *renovation of all things*.

OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
CHARACTER AND EXAMPLE OF CHRIST,
AND THE
MORALITY OF THE GOSPEL,

[BY WILLIAM PALEY, M. A.
FELLOW AND TUTOR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.]



ORIGINALLY ANNEXED
AS A
SUMMARY AND APPENDIX
TO
REFLECTIONS
ON THE
LIFE AND CHARACTER OF CHRIST,
BY
EDMUND LORD BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

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1776.

OBSERVATIONS

&c.

On the CHARACTER AND EXAMPLE OF CHRIST.

IN the first place, Christ was absolutely innocent: we do not find a single vice to which he was addicted, either from the accounts of his own followers, or as charged upon him by his enemies: we hear nothing like what is told of *Mahomet*, of his wives and concubines; nothing of his falling, like *Socrates* and *Plato*, into the fashionable vices of his country.—In the next place, his whole life, that part of it at least, which we are acquainted with, was employed in doing good, in substantial acts of kindness and compassion to all those who fell in his way, i. e. in solid virtue. In his youth he set an example of subjection and obedience to his parents. *Luke* ii. 51.—By his presence of mind and judicious replies, whenever ensnaring questions were proposed to him,

he testified the coolness and soundness of his understanding. *Matt.* xxi. 24. xxii. 16. xxx 37.---By avoiding all danger when he could do it consistently with his duty, and resolutely encountering the greatest, *when his hour was come*, i. e. when his own office or the destination of providence made it necessary, he proved the sedateness of his courage in opposition to that which is produced by passion and enthusiasm. *Matt.* xii. 14, 15. xiv. 12, 13. *John* iv. 1—3. compared with *Matt.* xv. 17—19.—By his patience and forbearance, when he had the means of revenge in his power, he taught us the proper treatment of our enemies. *Luke* ix. 54. *Matt.* xxvi. 53. compared with *Luke* xxiii. 34. —By his withdrawing himself from the populace and repelling their attempts to make him a king, he shewed us the sense we ought to entertain of popular clamour and applause. *John* vi. 15.—By his laying hold of every opportunity to instruct his followers, and taking so much pains to inculcate his precepts, he left us a pattern of industry and zeal in our profession.—By the liberty he took with the *pharisees* and *sadducees*, the lawyers and scribes, in exposing their hypocrisy, their errors and corruptions, he taught us fortitude in the discharge of our duty. *Matt.* xxiii. *Luke* xi. 54.—He spared neither the faults of his friends, nor the vices of his enemies.—By his indifference and un-

concern about his own accommodation and appearance, the interest of his family and fortune, he condemned all worldly mindedness. *Matt.* viii. 20. xii. 46—50. *John* iv. 34.—He was perfectly sober and rational in his devotions, as witness the Lord's prayer compared with any of the compositions of modern enthusiasts.—His admirable discourses before his death are specimens of inimitable tenderness and affection towards his followers. *John* xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. His quiet submission to death, though even the prospect of it was terrible to him, exhibits a complete pattern of resignation and acquiescence in the divine will. *John* xxii. 41—44.

And to crown all, his example was *practicable*, and suited to the condition of human life.—He did not like *Rousseau* call upon mankind to return back into a state of nature, or calculate his precepts for such a state.—He did not, with the monk and the hermit, run into caves and cloisters, or suppose men could make themselves more acceptable to God by keeping out of the way of one another. He did not, with some of the most eminent of the *stoics*, command his followers to throw their wealth into the sea, nor with the eastern *fauquirs* to inflict upon themselves any tedious gloomy penances, or extravagant mortifications.—He did not, what is the sure companion of enthusiasm, affect singularity in his behaviour ; he

dressed, he ate, he conversed like other people ; he accepted their invitations, was a guest at their feasts, frequented their synagogues, and went up to *Jerusalem* at their great festival. He supposed his disciples to follow some professions, to be soldiers, taxgatherers, fishermen ; to marry wives, pay taxes, submit to magistrates ;—to carry on their usual business ; and when they could be spared from his service, to return again to their respective callings.*—Upon the whole, if the account which is given of *Christ* in scripture be a just one ;—if there was really such a person, how could he be an impostor ?—If there was no such person, how came the illiterate Evangelists to hit off such a character, and that without any visible design of drawing any character at all ?

* The like did his forerunner *John* the baptist. When the publicans and soldiers, people of the two most obnoxious professions in that age and country, asked *John* what they were to do, *John* does not require them to quit their occupations, but to beware of the vices and perform the duties of them ; which also is to be understood as the baptist's own explanation of that *μετανοειτε αμαρτιαν* *αμαρτιων* to which he called his countrymen.

On the MORALITY OF THE GOSPEL.

THE morality of the gospel [is] not beyond what might be discovered by reason ; nor possibly could be ; because all morality being founded in relations and consequences, which we are acquainted with, and experience, must depend upon reasons intelligible to our apprehensions, and discoverable by us.

Nor perhaps, except in a few instances, was it beyond what might have been collected from the scattered precepts of different philosophers.

Indeed to have put together all the wise and good precepts of all the different philosophers, to have separated and laid aside all the error, immorality and superstition that was mixed with them, would have proved a very difficult work. But that a single person, without any assistance from those philosophers, or any human learning whatsoever, in direct opposition also to the established practices and maxims of his own country, should form a system, so unblameable on the one hand, and so perfect on the other, is extraordinary, beyond example and be-

lief; and yet must be believed by those who hold *Christ* to have been either an *impostor* or *enthusiast*.

The following are some principal articles of his system.

I. *The forgiveness of injuries and enemies*; — absolutely original.

“ Ye have heard that it hath been said thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.” *Matt.* v. 43—45.

“ If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you.” *Matt.* vi. 14, 15.

“ Then came *Peter* unto him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times? *Jesus* saith unto him, I say not unto thee until seven times, but until seventy times seven: therefore (*i. e. in this respect*) is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king which would take account of his servants; and when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him

which owed him ten thousand talents ; but, for as much as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife and children and all that he had, and payment to be made : the servant therefore fell down, and worshipped him, saying, lord have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. Then the lord of that servant was moved with compassion, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt. But the same servant went out, and found one of his fellow servants, which owed him a hundred pence ; and he laid hands on him and took him by the throat, saying pay me what thou owest ; and his fellow-servant fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all ; and he would not, but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt. So when his fellow servants saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done. Then his lord, after that he had called him, said unto him, O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desiredst me, shouldst not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had pity on thee ? And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him ; so likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses." *Matt. xviii.*
21—35.

“ And when ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have ought against any ; that your Father also, which is in heaven, may forgive you your trespasses.” *Mark xi. 25.*

“ Love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again, and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest, for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil.” *Luke vi. 35.*

“ And when they were come to the place, which is called *Calvary*, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left : then said *Jesus*, Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.” *Luke xxiii. 34.*

II. *The universality of benevolence without distinction of country or religion.*

“ They went, and entered into a village of the *Samaritans* to make ready for him, and they did not receive him, because his face was as though he would go to *Jerusalem* ; and when his disciples *James* and *John* saw this, they said, Lord wilt thou, that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as *Elias* did ? But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.” *Luke ix. 52, 53.*

“ *The Jewish lawyer*, willing to justify himself, said unto *Jesus*, and who is my neighbour ? And

Jesus answering said, a certain man went down from *Jerusalem* to *Jericho*, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead; and by chance there came down a certain *priest* that way, and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side; and likewise a *Levite*, when he was at the place came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side; but a certain *Samaritan* as he journeyed, came where he was, and when he saw him he had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him; and on the morrow, when he departed, he took out twopence, and gave them to the host, and said, take care of him, and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee: which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour to him that fell among the thieves? and he said, he that shewed mercy on him. Then said *Jesus* unto him, go and do thou likewise." *Luke* x. 29—37.

III. *The inferiority and subordination of the ceremonial to the moral Law.*

"Leave thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." *Matt.* v. 24.

“ If ye had known what this meaneth, “ I will have mercy and not sacrifice,” ye would not have condemned the guiltless.” *Matt.* xii. 7.

“ And behold there was a man which had his hand withered ; and they asked him, saying, is it lawful to heal on the sabbath days ? that they might accuse him. And he said unto them, what man shall there be among you, that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it and lift it out ? how much then is a man better than a sheep ? wherefore it is lawful to do well on the sabbath days.” *Matt.* xii. 10—13. See also *Mark* iii. 1—5.

“ Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man ; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man—those things, which proceed out of the mouth, come forth from the heart, and they defile the man ; for out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witnesses, blasphemies, these are the things which defile a man ; but to eat with unwashen hands, defileth not a man.” *Matt.* xv. 11, 18—20.

“ Woe unto you *scribes* and *pharisees*, hypocrites, for ye pay tythe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy, and faith, (*fidelity* :) these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the others undone.”

“ Ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind *pharisee*, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also.” *Matt.* xxiii. 23—25.

“ And the scribe said unto him, well master thou hast said the truth, for there is one God, and there is none other but he, and to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices : and when *Jesus* saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, thou art not far from the kingdom of God, *Mark* xii. 32—34.

IV. *The condemning of spiritual pride and ostentation.*

“ Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them ; otherwise ye shall have no reward of your Father which is in heaven : therefore when thou dost thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do, in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men ; verily I say unto you they have their reward. But when thou dost alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, that thine alms may be in secret ; and thy Father, which seeth in secret ;

himself shall reward thee openly. And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are, for they love to pray, standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men ; verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret ; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. Moreover when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance ; for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast ; verily I say unto you, they have their reward : but thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret ; and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly." *Matt. vi. 1—6. 16—18.*

"All their works they do for to be seen of men : they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments, and love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men Rabbi, Rabbi." *Matt. xxiii. 5—7.*

"And he spake this parable unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others. Two men went up into the tem-

ple to pray, the one a *pharisee* and the other a publican ; the *pharisee* stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican ; I fast twice in the week, I give tythes of all that I possess. And the publican standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner. I tell you this man went down to his house, justified rather than the other ; for every one that exalteth himself, shall be abased ; and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted." *Luke* xviii. 9 — 14.

V. *Restraining the licentiousness of divorces.*

"The *pharisees* came unto him tempting him, and saying unto him, is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause ? And he answered and said unto them, have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female ; and said, for this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh ? wherefore they are no more twain but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. They say unto him, why did *Moses* then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her

away? He saith unto them, *Moses* because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so; and I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery." *Matt.* xix. 3—9.

N. B. These four last articles were in direct opposition to the established practice and opinions of our Saviour's own country.

VI. *The separation of civil authority from religious matters.*

"Then saith he unto them, render unto *Cæsar* the things which are *Cæsar's*, and unto God the things that are God's." *Matt.* xxii. 21.

"And one of the company said unto him, master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me. And he said unto him, man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" *Luke* xii. 13, 14.

He said unto the woman (*caught in adultery*) "Where are those thine accusers? hath no man condemned thee? (*i. e. judicially; for the woman's answer was not true in any other sense.*) She said, no man, Lord: and *Jesus* said unto her, neither do I condemn thee, (*i. e. in the same sense, or as a judge.*) *John* viii. 10, 11.

VII. *Purity and simplicity of divine worship.*

“When ye pray, use not vain repetitions as the heathen do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them; for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before you ask him: after this manner therefore pray ye, *Our Father &c.* *Matt. vi. 7—9.*

“The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth.” *John iv. 23, 24.*

VIII. *Estimating of actions by the intent and not the effect.*

“And *Jesus* sat over against the treasury (i. e. *for pious uses,*) and beheld how the people cast money into the treasury; and many that were rich cast in much; and there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing; and he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, verily I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast more in than all they which have cast into the treasury, for all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living.” *Mark xii. 41—44.*

IX. *Extending of morality to the regulation of the thoughts.*

“I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.” *Matt. v. 28.*

“Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, &c.—these are the things which defile a man.” *Matt. xv. 19, 20.*

X. *The demand of duty from mankind proportioned to their ability and opportunities.*

“That servant which knew his lord’s will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes; but he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes; for unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required; and (i. e. as) to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.” *Luke xii. 47, 48.*

XI. *The invitations to repentance.*

“Then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him; and the *pharisees* and *scribes* murmured, saying, this man receiveth sinners and eateth with them; and he spake this parable unto them, saying, what man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go

after that which is lost till he find it? and when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders rejoicing; and when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost. I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance."

Luke xv. 1—7.

"And he said, (*i. e. upon the same occasion,*) A certain man had two sons; and the younger of them said to his father, father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me; and he divided unto them his living: and not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living; and when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land, and he began to be in want; and he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country, and he sent him into his fields to feed swine, and he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat, and no man gave unto him; and when he came unto himself, he said, how many hired servants of my father have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger? I will arise and go to my father, and will say

unto him, father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son, make me as one of thy hired servants. And he arose and came to his father ; but when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him ; and the son said unto him, father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son : but the father said to his servants, bring forth the best robe, and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet ; and bring here the fatted calf and kill it ; and let us eat and be merry, for this my son was dead, and is alive again, he was lost, and is found."

Luke xv. 1—24.



The gospel maxims of *loving our neighbour as ourselves*, and *doing as we would be done by*, are much superior rules of life to the *το ωφελον* of the Greek, or the *honestum* of the *Latin* moralists, in forming ideas of which, people put in or left out just what they pleased ; and better than the *utile*, or *general expediency* of the modern, which few can estimate.—As motives likewise, or principles of action, they are much safer than either *the love of our country*, which

has oft times been destructive to the rest of the world ; or *friendship*, the almost constant source of partiality and injustice.

His manner also of teaching, was infinitely more affecting than theirs : as may be known by comparing what we feel, when we rise up from reading the parables of the good *Samaritan*, of the *pharisee* and publican, the servant who when he was forgiven by his master, would not forgive his fellow servant, the prodigal son, the rich man who laid up his stores, *Luke* xii:—by comparing, I say, these with any thing excited in us, on reading *Tully's Offices*, *Aristotle's Ethics*, or *Seneca's Moral Dissertations*.

No heathen moralist ever opposed himself, as Christ did, to the prevailing vices and corruptions of his own time and country. *Matt.* v, vi, vii, xxiii. *Luke* xi. 39—44.—The sports of the gladiators, unnatural lust, the licentiousness of divorce, the exposing of infants and slaves, procuring abortions, publick establishment of stews, all subsisted at *Rome*, and not one of them condemned or hinted at in *Tully's Offices*.—The most indecent revelling, drunkenness and lewdness, practised at the feasts of *Bacchus*, *Ceres* and *Cybele*, and their greatest philosophers never remonstrated against it.

The heathen philosophers, though they have advanced fine sayings and sublime precepts in some points of morality, have grossly failed in others ; such as the toleration or encouragement of revenge, slavery, unnatural lust, fornication, suicide, &c. e. g.

Plato expressly allowed of excessive drinking at the Festival of *Bacchus*.

Maximus Tyrius forbid to pray.

Socrates directs his hearers to consider the *Greeks* as brethren, but Barbarians as natural enemies.

Aristotle maintained that nature intended Barbarians to be slaves.

The *Stoics* held that all crimes were equal.

<i>Plato,</i>	}	All allow and advise men to continue the idolatry of their ancestors.
<i>Cicero,</i>		
<i>Epictetus,</i>		

<i>Aristotle</i>	}	Both speak of the forgiveness of injuries as meanness and pusillanimity.
<i>Cicero</i>		

These were trifles to what follows.

*Aristotle** and *Plato*, both direct that *means should be used* to prevent weak children being brought up.

Cato commends a young man for frequenting the stews.

Cicero expressly speaks of fornication as a thing never found fault with.

* See Dr. Priestley's Institutes of Nat. and Rev. Religion, Vol. ii. Sect. 2, 3.

Plato recommends a community of women : also advises that soldiers should not be restrained from sensual indulgence, even the most unnatural species of it.

Xenophon relates without any marks of reprobation, that unnatural lust was encouraged by the laws of several *Grecian* states.

Solon their great lawgiver forbid it only to slaves.

Diogenes inculcated, and openly practised the most brutal lust.

Zeno the founder, and *Cato* the ornament of the *Stoic* philosophy, both killed themselves.

Lastly, the idea which the christian scriptures exhibit of the Deity, is in many respects different from the notion that was then entertained of him, but perfectly consonant to the best information we have of his nature and attributes from reason and the appearances of the universe.—The scriptures describe him as one, wise, powerful, spiritual and omnipresent ; as placable and impartial, as abounding in affection towards his creatures, overruling by his providence the concerns of mankind in this world, and designing to compensate their sufferings, reward their merit, and punish their crimes in another. The foregoing instructions both with regard to God and to morality, appear also without any traces of

either learning or study. No set proofs, no formal arguments, no regular deduction or investigation, by which such conclusion could be derived :--the very different state likewise of learning and enquiry in *Judea* and other countries--and the vast superiority of this to any other system of religion :--all these circumstances shew that the authors of it must have some sources of information which the others had not.



AN ANALYSIS

OF

DR. PALEY'S

FIVE OCCASIONAL SERMONS,

AND

CHARGE TO THE CLERGY

OF THE

DIOCESE OF CARLISLE.

&c. &c.



The following Analysis, with the illustrative extracts from the writings of Dr. Percival and Mr. Cowper, will, it is hoped, prove acceptable to the public, since the minor works of Dr. Paley, though in every respect worthy of attention, are comparatively little known.

ANALYSIS OF MR. PALEY'S SERMON ON
THE USE AND APPLICATION OF SCRIPTURE
LANGUAGE, PREACHED JULY 15th. 1777. IN
THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CARLISLE, AT
THE VISITATION OF EDMUND LORD BISHOP
OF CARLISLE.

[Extracted chiefly from Dr. Percival's Works, Vol. 1. page
305—308.]

*Even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to
the Wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you ;
as also in all his epistles speaking in them of those things ;
in which are some things hard to be understood, which
they that are unlearned, and unstable, wrest as they do
also the other scriptures unto their own destruction.*

2 PET. iii. 15, 16.

“THIS excellent writer has shewn, that much confusion and many false doctrines have arisen from the application of titles, phrases, propositions, and arguments to the personal conditions of Christians at this day, which were appropriate to Christianity

on its first institution. He therefore, who undertakes to explain the scriptures, before he determines to whom or to what any particular expression is now referable, ought to weigh well whether it admit of any present reference at all ; or whether it is not to be restrained to the precise circumstances or occasion on which it was originally delivered. The learned author illustrates this important observation by several interesting examples, which I shall briefly recapitulate. At the time when the scriptures were promulgated, no persons were baptized but converts, and none being converted but from conviction, a corresponding reformation of life and manners must have almost uniformly ensued. Hence *baptism* was only another term for sincere *conversion*, which explains our Saviour's promise, "*he that believeth, and is baptised, shall be saved*;" and also his command to St. Paul, "*arise, and be baptised, and wash away thy sins.*" This was that baptism for the "*remission of sins*, to which St. Peter invited the Jews ; and that "*washing of regeneration*," of which St. Paul writes to Titus. Now when we speak of the baptism practised in most Christian churches at present, in which conversion is neither supposed nor possible, it is manifest that these expressions, if ever allowable, ought to be applied with extreme qualification and reserve.

The community of Christians were at first a handful of men, strictly united amongst themselves, and divided from the rest of the world by a difference of principle and persuasion, by superior purity of life and conversation, and by many peculiarities of worship and behaviour. Hence they were denominated by distinguished titles, being called the “*elect, saints, a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people*.” These titles by a strange misapplication, injurious to our holy religion, have been appropriated to certain individuals or parties amongst Christians existing at this time. The conversion of a grown person from heathenism to Christianity was a change of which we have now no just conception. It was a new name, a new language, a new society, a new faith, a new hope, a new object of worship, and a new rule of life. A history was disclosed full of discovery and surprise : a prospect of futurity was unfolded, beyond imagination awful and august. This conversion being also accompanied with the pardon of past sins, became such an æra in a man’s life, so remarkable a period in his recollection, such a revolution of every thing which was most important to him, as might well admit the strong figures and significant allusions by which it is described in scripture. It was “*a regeneration or new birth ;*” it

was “*to be born again of God and the Spirit ;*” it was “*to be dead to sin.*” But a person educated in a Christian country can experience no change equal or similar to the conversion of a heathen to the religion of JESUS. Yet we still retain the same language ; and some amongst us have imagined to themselves certain perceptible impulses of the Holy Ghost, by which in an instant they who were before “*the children of wrath,*” are regenerate and born of the spirit ; becoming new creatures, and the sons of God :*” “—they are “*freed from sin,*” and “*from death*”—they are chosen, that is, and sealed, without a possibility of fall, unto final salvation.—Whilst the patrons of a more sober exposition have been often challenged, and sometimes confounded with the question.—If such expressions of scripture do not mean *this*, what do they mean? To which we answer—nothing—nothing, that is, to us,—nothing to be found, or sought for, in the present circumstances of Christianity.

More examples might be produced, in which the unwary use of scripture language has been the occasion of difficulties and mistakes. Whatever relates to the interpretation of scripture relates to us ; for if by any light we may cast upon these an-

* Dr. Percival's Analysis closes here.

cient books, we can enable the people to read the Bible for themselves, we discharge the first duty of our function—ever bearing in mind that we are the ministers not of our own fame or fancies, but of the sincere Gospel of Jesus Christ.



ANALYSIS OF MR. PALEY'S ADMONITORY
SERMON TO THE YOUNG CLERGY OF THE
DIOCESE OF CARLISLE, PREACHED AT A
GENERAL ORDINATION HOLDEN AT ROSE
CASTLE ON SUNDAY, JULY 29th. 1781.*

“ *Let no man despise thy youth.*” 1 TIM. iv. 12,

ALTHOUGH age and honours, authority of station, and splendour of appearance, usually command the veneration of mankind, unless counteracted by some degrading vice, or egregious impropriety of behaviour ; yet where these advantages are wanting, and under the inevitable depression of narrow fortunes, both care and merit are required to procure and preserve respect ; particularly in a Christian teacher, not so much for his own sake, as for the more certain advantage of those, for whom his instructions are designed. The stations which the

* To this Sermon the following advertisement is prefixed.

“ It is recommended to those who are preparing for holy orders, within the diocese of Carlisle, to read *Collyer's Sacred Interpreter*, and the four Gospels with *Clark's Paraphrase* ; and to candidates for Priest's orders, carefully to peruse *Taylor's Paraphrase on the Romans*.”

younger Clergy are likely, for some time at least to occupy in the Church, although not capable of all the means of rendering service, and challenging respect, which fall within the power of their superiors, are free from many prejudices that attend upon higher preferments. In whatever contests with his parishioners, the *principal* may be engaged; the *curate* has neither dispute nor demand to stand between him and the affections of his congregation. Being upon a level with the greatest part of his parishioners, he gains an access to their conversation and confidence, which is rarely granted to the superior clergy without extraordinary address, and the most insinuating advances. The right use of this advantage constitutes one of the most respectable employments, not only of the clerical order, but of human nature, and leaves those who enjoy it, little to envy in the condition of their superiors, or to regret in their own. Every scheme of doing good in their profession, or even of doing their duty, necessarily supposes a continued residence in the same parish, so as to form some acquaintance with the persons and characters of the inhabitants.

But whilst a just concern for their reputation, and a proper desire of public esteem are recommended to the younger clergy, that passion for praise and

popularity, which so frequently arises from any extraordinary approbation on their first appearance, is by no means to be flattered, but rather lamented; as leading to affectation and hypocrisy, or to enthusiasm and extravagance. Very different are the ends which the popular preacher and the sincerely pious minister of Christ pursue: the one seeks to be known and proclaimed abroad, the other is content with the silent respect of his own neighbourhood, sensible that *there* alone his good name can assist him in the discharge of his duty.

By hunting after the acquaintance of the great, by a cold and distant behaviour towards their former equals, or by such other arts as young clergymen not unfrequently fall upon, in endeavouring to lift themselves into importance; nothing was ever gained but derision and dislike. Possibly such arts may not offend against any rule of moral probity; but they generally defeat their own end, and in a great measure the design and use of the clerical vocation.

The first virtue which appears of importance, as conducive to the possession of a fair and respected character, is *frugality*: for profusion is without excuse, in a young clergyman, who has little beside his profession to depend upon: *Oeconomy upon a plan* deliberately adjusted to his circumstances and ex-

pectations is not only recommended as an article of prudence, but as a lesson of virtue, since this frugality has been deemed the parent of liberty, of independence, and of generosity. A second essential is *sobriety*; because a clergyman cannot, without infinite confusion appear in the pulpit, much less discourse of temperance, before those who have witnessed his own commission of a most disgraceful and humiliating vice. *Dissoluteness* should be guarded against for the same and for many additional reasons; licentiousness in the intercourse of the sexes, being the crying sin and calamity of this country at present. A vice which hardly admits of argument or dissuasion can only be encountered by the censures of the good, and the discouragement of the most respected orders of the community. When those who ought to cure the malady propagate the contagion, they not only corrupt an individual by their solicitations, but debauch a whole neighbourhood by the profligacy of their example.*—*Retirement* is the foundation of almost all other good habits: as half the faults of young clergymen originate in an impatience of solitude; to learn *to live alone*, comprizes in one sentence the most important advice: it is not only a preservative of character, but the very secret

* See Mor: and Pol: Phil: I, p. 295-309.

of happiness. A taste for desultory reading cannot indeed be supplied by any moderate expense or ordinary opportunities ; but if they apply themselves to serious study, and take in hand any branch of useful science, especially where subsidiary to the knowledge of religion, a few books, a commentary on the *New Testament* for instance, will suffice. The composition of sermons is another resource, too frequently forgotten : other mens labours should be called in, *not to flatter laziness, but to assist industry*. Let those, who are unable to furnish a sermon weekly, try to compose one every month : however inferior such compositions may be in some respects, they will amply compensate by a closer application to their congregations, than can be expected from any borrowed discourse. At any rate, this is a virtuous and honourable employment of their time. With retirement is connected *reserve*, which implies some degree of delicacy in the choice of company, and refinement in pleasures. The amusements of the clergy should be still, quiet, and unoffending. The same reserve should be carried into all correspondence with their superiors ; and preferment, if any prospects of it present themselves, should be pursued with moderate anxiety and by honourable means alone. For once that *it* is forfeited by modesty, it

is ten times lost by importunity and intrusion. Finally *seriousness of deportment*, especially in discharging the professional offices, is another very efficacious expedient towards engaging personal respect. Salvation is too awful a concern to be long treated with levity : seriousness, therefore, in a clergyman, whose great point is to be thought in earnest, is agreeable to men of all tempers and descriptions, and much more indispensable than the accomplishments of appearance, delivery, and voice. *Plainness and simplicity*, so essential in reading the other services of the church, are also to be preferred in the composition, style, and delivery of sermons : ornaments, or even accuracy of language, which cost the writer much trouble, produce small advantage to the hearer. The character of such sermons should be truth, information, and a decent particularity ; for a hearer never carries away more than one impression. In a word, by endeavouring to make these discourses useful, they will rarely fail to please. Such are the most requisite qualities in the clerical character ; which wherever they meet, make even youth venerable, and poverty respected : which will secure esteem, under every disadvantage of fortune, person, and situation, and notwithstanding great defects of abilities and attainments. But a good name is only to

be valued in suberviency to duty, in subordination to a higher reward. If the clergy are more tender of their reputation, or more studious of esteem than others, it is from a persuasion that by obtaining and availing themselves of the respect of their congregations, to promote peace and virtue, useful knowledge and benevolent dispositions, they are purchasing to themselves a reversion and inheritance, valuable above all price, important above every other interest or success.

Such are the principal topics on which Mr. Paley has thought proper to admonish his junior brethren, particularly those who were likely to sustain the lower orders of their profession, which the Diocese of Carlisle has generally furnished in a much larger proportion than any other quarter of the realm. This sermon may be strongly recommended "for the justness of its reflections, the propriety of its language, and the benevolence, good sense and piety, which it breathes. The young Divine, must be stupid or vicious to the last degree, who can read it without being equally affected and improved;* since the exhortations which it contains are the result of united wisdom, seriousness, and knowledge of the world."†

* Mon: Rev: March, 1782.

† New Ann: Reg: 1781. Dom: Lit: p. 213.

ANALYSIS OF ARCHDEACON PALEY'S SER-
MON ON *A DISTINCTION OF ORDERS IN THE*
CHURCH, PREACHED IN THE CASTLE CHAPEL
DUBLIN, AT THE CONSECRATION OF DR.
JOHN LAW TO THE BISHOPRIC OF CLONFERT
AND KILMACDUAH, SEPT. 21ST, 1782.

*And he gave some, Apostles ; and some, Prophets ;
and some, Evangelists ; and some, Pastors and
Teachers ; for the perfecting of the Saints, for the
work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of
Christ.*

EPHESIANS IV. 11, 12.

AFTER explaining the distinction which ought
to be preserved between Christianity, as it addresses
the *conscience* and regulates the duty of individuals,
and as it regards the discipline and government of
the church ; its precepts and fundamental articles
being in the one case precise, and absolute, of per-
petual, universal and unalterable obligation ; and on
the other hand, its laws being delivered in terms ge-
neral and indefinite, applicable to various exigencies,
the ingenious preacher considers the apostolic direc-
tions, as excluding no ecclesiastical constitution,

which the experience and more instructed judgment of future ages might find it expedient to adopt. The situation of the Christian community being very different in its infant and adult state, the same disposition of affairs, which was most suitable in the one case, might become impracticable or inadequate in the other.* As Christianity solicited admission into every country of the world, it cautiously refrained from interfering with any arrangements of human policy, leaving its own laws open and indeterminate, that, whilst the ends of religious communion were sufficiently declared, the form of each society might be so assimilated to any civil constitution, as to communicate strength and support, in return for the protection it received: "Christianity, therefore, may be professed under any form of church government."

But though all things are lawful, all things are not expedient—whilst the legality of their constitution may be conceded to other churches, so long as Christian worship and instruction are competently provided for, the advantage of the church of England may be maintained upon principles of *public utility*.† Whilst some protestant churches have es-

* Mor: and Pol: Phil: B. VI. Ch. 10. Vol. II. p. 304.

† Mor: and Pol: Phil: id: p. 305.

established a perfect parity amongst their clergy, the church of England prefers a distinction of orders, not only as recommended by the usage of the purest times, but as better calculated to promote the credit and efficacy of the sacerdotal office. The force and truth of this last consideration the preacher endeavours to evince, by a series of close and perspicuous reasoning, founded on the following propositions.

1st. The body of the clergy must necessarily contain some internal provision for the government and correction of its members, and since tumults and intrigues are so frequent in numerous assemblies, subordination most effectually secures internal peace *

2dly. The appointment of various orders in the church may be considered as the stationing ministers of religion in the various ranks of civil life. The distinctions of the clergy ought in some measure to correspond with the distinctions of lay society, in order to supply each class of people with a clergy of their own level and description, with whom they may live and associate on terms of equality.† This reason is not imaginary nor insignificant: for these distinctions, whilst they prevail, must be complied with. How much soever the Moralist may despise, or the Divine overlook the discriminations of rank, which

* Mor: and Pol: Phil: II. p. 323. † Id.

the rules and prejudices of modern life have introduced into society, when the world is to be instructed, it must be treated as it is, not as the wishes or speculations of philosophy would represent it. When the public are described, as peculiarly interested in every thing which affects the character of the great and powerful, it is not that the soul of the rich man is more precious than the salvation of the poor, but because his virtues and vices have a more considerable and extensive effect. 3dly. The high privileges and emoluments of the few in the present establishment give a dignity to the ministry itself, and the whole clergy share in the respect which is paid to their superiors. This disposition of honours is approved in the profession of arms and of the law, and if these derive their lustre and esteem from the exaltation of a few individuals, why should not the credit and liberality of the clerical order be upheld by the same expedient? 4thly. Rich and splendid situations in the church have been justly regarded as prizes, held out to invite persons of good hopes and ingenious attainments to enter into its service.* Some of the most judicious and moderate of the presbyterian clergy have been known to lament the want of such encouragements in their own constitution. They see and de-

* Mor: and Pol: Phil: II. p. 323.

plore the backwardness in youth of active and well cultivated faculties to enter into the church, and their frequent resolutions to quit it. But, if a gradation of orders be necessary to invite candidates into the profession, it is still more so to excite diligence and emulation, to promote an attention to character and public opinion when they are in it ;* especially, to guard against that sloth and negligence, into which men are apt to fall, who are arrived too soon at the limit of their expectations. These reasons are much strengthened, when men of conspicuous and acknowledged merit are called to its superior stations : —“ when it goeth well with the righteous the city rejoiceth.” When pious labours and exemplary virtue, when distinguished learning or eminent utility, when long and arduous services are repaid with affluence and dignity, when a life of severe and well-directed application to the studies of religion, when wasted spirits and declining health are suffered to repose in honourable leisure, the good and wise applaud a constitution, which has provided such things for such men. But these, after all, are only secondary objects. Christ came not to found an empire upon earth, or to invest his church with temporal immunities. He came “ to seek and to save that

* Mor: and Pol: Phil: id :

which was lost:”—to purify to himself, from amidst the pollutions of a corrupt world, “a peculiar people, zealous of good works.” As far as the present establishment conduces to forward and facilitate these ends, so far it certainly falls in with his design, and is sanctified by his authority.—And whilst they who are entrusted with its government, employ their cares, and the influence of their stations, in judicious and unremitting endeavours to enlarge the dominion of virtue and of Christianity over the hearts and affections of mankind: whilst “by pureness, by knowledge,” by the aids of learning, by the piety of their example, they labour to inform the consciences and improve the morals of the people committed to their charge, they secure to themselves and to the church in which they preside, peace and permanency, reverence and support:—what is infinitely more, they “save their own souls,”—they prepare for the approach of that tremendous day, when Jesus Christ shall return again to the world and to his church, at once the gracious rewarder of the toils, and patience, and fidelity of his servants, and the strict avenger of abused power and neglected duty.

Though the writers of a critique on this sermon in the *Monthly Review* for March, 1783, decline offering their opinion of its merits in a strictly theologi-

cal sense, they hesitate not to declare their sentiments of the manner in which it is discussed. They think it equally a proof of the author's ingenuity and good sense; and what is of more value in the Christian Divine—his benevolence and his piety. "*May the Lord of the harvest send more such labourers into his vineyard.*"

This favourable opinion gave rise to the following strictures in Mr. Cowper's correspondence with Mr. Unwin,* May 12th, 1783.

"IN the review of last month, I met with an account of a sermon preached by Mr. Paley, at the consecration of his friend Bishop Law. The critic admires and extols the preacher, and devoutly prays the Lord of the harvest to send forth more such labourers into his vineyard. I rather differ from him in opinion, not being able to conjecture in what respect the vineyard will be benefited by such a measure. He is certainly ingenious, and has stretched his ingenuity to the uttermost, in order to exhibit the church established, consisting of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the most favourable point of view. I lay it down for a rule, that when much ingenuity

* See Hayley's life and posthumous works of Cowper, Vol :

11. p. 84.

is necessary to gain an argument credit, that argument is unsound at the bottom. So is his, and so are all the petty devices by which he seeks to enforce it. He says first, "that the appointment of various orders in the church is attended with this good consequence, that each class of people is supplied with a clergy of their own level and description, with whom they may live and associate on terms of equality." But in order to effect this good purpose, there ought to be at least three parsons in every parish, one for the gentry, one for traders and mechanics, and one for the lowest of the vulgar. Neither is it easy to find many parishes, where the laity at large have any society with their minister at all. This therefore is fanciful, and a mere invention; in the next place he says "it gives a dignity to the ministry itself, and the clergy share in the respect paid to their superiors." Much good may such participation do them! They themselves know how little it amounts to. The dignity a parson derives from the lawn sleeves, and square cap of his diocesan, will never endanger his humility.

Pope says truly—

Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow,

The rest is all but leather or prunello.

Again—"Rich and splendid situations in the church have been justly regarded as prizes, held

out to invite persons of good hopes, and ingenious attainments." Agreed. But the prize held out in the scripture, is of a very different kind ; and our ecclesiastical baits are too often snapped by the worthless, and persons of no attainments at all. They are indeed incentives to avarice and ambition, but not to those acquirements, by which only the ministerial function can be adorned—zeal for the salvation of men, humility, and self-denial. Mr. Paley and I therefore cannot agree."



ANALYSIS OF ARCHDEACON PALEY'S
CHARGE TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIO-
CESE OF CARLISLE, IN 1790, ON "*THE
USE AND PROPRIETY OF LOCAL AND OCCA-
SIONAL PREACHING.*"

THE advice of the late Archbishop Secker to the clergy of his diocese,* "to make their sermons local," though founded in a knowledge of human life, requires in its application, a more than ordinary exercise of Christian prudence. In repeating the rule, therefore, with great veneration for the authority by which it was delivered, Archdeacon Paley thought it no unfit employment of the opportunity afforded him of addressing his reverend brethren as chancellor on this occasion, to enlarge so far upon its use and meaning, as to point out some instances, in which it may be adopted with the probability of making salutary impressions. He solemnly warns the clergy against making their discourses *so local*, as to be pointed and levelled, even by covert and oblique allusions, at particular persons in their congregation, a practice which is seldom attended with any

* Secker's Works Vol: IV. Charge III.

beneficial consequences to the party, and is equally useless and perhaps noxious to the rest of the assembly. The crimes of individuals should be reserved for private expostulation, and happy is the clergyman who seizes and improves every proper occasion of effectual remonstrance. But private characters should be no otherwise adverted to in public discourses than as they fall in with the necessary delineation of sins and duties, which, clear only of personalities, can never otherwise be too close or circumstantial. For the same reason that personal allusions are reprehensible, any, even the remotest reference to party or political transactions and disputes must be condemned ; which are at all times unfit subjects, not only of discussion, but of hints and surmises in the pulpit. “ The Christian preacher has no other province than that of religion and morality. He is seldom led out of his way by honourable motives, and never with a beneficial effect.”

By “ local sermons” then, are meant sermons adapted to the particular state of thought and opinion which appears to prevail in the congregation. As that state varies, the very same sermon may do a great deal of good, none at all, or much harm. Out of many truths, those should be selected, which seem best suited to rectify the dispositions of thought, that

were previously declining into error and extravagancy. Christ the highest of all possible authorities always had in view, the posture of mind of the persons whom he addressed. He took no undue advantage of the enmity subsisting between the pharisee and sadducee, the Jew and the Samaritan, to make friends or proselytes ; but in the presence of the pharisee he preached against hypocrisy : to the sadducee he proved the resurrection of the dead : upon the Jew he inculcated a more comprehensive benevolence : with the Samaritan he defended the orthodoxy of the Jewish creed. To exemplify this advice in two or three modern instances. In many former ages the strong propensity of mens minds was to over-value positive duties, and to ascribe an efficacy to certain religious performances, which, in a great measure, superseded the obligations of substantial virtue. That age is long since past ; but there is now reason to apprehend mistakes of a contrary kind. Men seem now disposed, not only to cast off the decent offices which the temperate piety of the church of England hath enjoined, but to condemn and neglect, under the name of forms and ceremonies, even those rites which are justly entitled to be accounted parts of Christianity itself. In these circumstances he chooses badly, who insists too much

on the futility of rites and ordinances, and on their inferiority to moral precepts ; being rather called upon to sustain the authority of the positive institutions of Christianity, and the reasonableness and credit of such decent ceremonies, as claim no higher original than public appointment. Some of these, by the impressions they make upon the mind, certainly contribute to render men better members of society, and can only be preserved in reputation and influence by the general respect which is paid to them. Still it is as true as ever that “ except we exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, we cannot enter into the kingdom of Heaven ;” “ that the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath ;” “ that the weightier matters of the law are faith, justice, and mercy :” but to insist strenuously, and, as some do, almost exclusively, upon these points at present, tends to diminish the respect for religious ordinances, which is already too little ; and whilst it guards against dangers which have ceased to exist, augments those which are really formidable. Again ; Upon the first reformation from popery, a method was very prevalent of resolving the whole of religion into *faith* ; to the almost total exclusion of *good works*, or the practice of virtue. This doctrine, more recently revived and carried to

still greater lengths, required whilst it lasted very serious animadversion : so long as this turn of mind prevailed, the scriptural duties of practical religion, and the distinctions of good and evil, with their consequent rewards and punishments, could not be too industriously enforced. The danger however from this quarter is nearly overpast. A kind of philosophical morality, independent of religion and without its sanctions, has succeeded, which, whilst it continues, makes it necessary to assert the decided superiority of a religious principle, of that "faith which worketh by love," above every other system which divides the opinions of mankind ; and to avoid decrying, with too much anxiety, even the abuses and extravagancies, into which the doctrine of salvation by faith alone has some times been carried. The endeavour should now be, not to bring men back to enthusiasm and superstition, but to retard their progress, into an opposite and worse extreme. In these and all other instances, the choice of subjects should be regulated, by the bias and tendency of prevailing opinions, and by a consideration, not of the truth only of what is delivered, but of its probable effects on the weak and preoccupied understandings of those to whom it is addressed.

Having thus considered the rule, as it applies to the argument of their discourses, the Archdeacon

proceeds to illustrate its use, as a means of exciting attention. The sequel includes both local and occasional sermons, the transition being easy, and the reason for them much the same. To move and awaken the attention of an audience is a purpose of no inconsiderable magnitude ; since it is much to be desired that the listlessness of congregations should by any means be removed. The sermons of the established clergy are in general more informing, as well as more correct and chastised both in matter and composition, than those of dissenting teachers : it is to be wished that they were equally impressive. Discourses recommended by any occasional propriety are heard with more than ordinary interest, and the more these proprieties are so interwoven the better. The service of the day should never be neglected, as it contributes to stimulate the attention of the congregation, and frequently affords very striking subjects of illustration. The season of the year also suggests many useful topics of meditation, which may be successfully applied, particularly in seed time and harvest, to the instruction of a rural audience. Lastly, a Christian teacher is wanting in attention to opportunities who does not avail himself of the impression made by sudden, violent, and untimely deaths. The uncertainty of life requires

no proof, but discourses upon the subject act with tenfold force, where the heart is already touched by some near, recent, and affecting example of human mortality.

If other occurrences have arisen within the neighbourhood, which may remind all parties "what shadows they are, and what shadows they pursue," and thereby induce them to strive for the attainment of final salvation, such occurrences may be made to introduce topics of serious and useful meditation. Popular preachers among the methodists avail themselves of these occasions with a very powerful effect: though they frequently transgress the limits of decorum and propriety, and thereby wound the modesty of a cultivated ear.* But the method itself is not to be blamed, and under the correction of a sounder judgment it might be rendered very beneficial. Perhaps the safest way is not to refer to these incidents by any direct allusion, but merely to discourse at the time upon subjects, which are allied to, and connected with them. The clergy are thus strenuously recommended, to consider diligently the probable effects of their discourses upon the character and dispositions of those who are to hear them; but to apply this consideration solely to the choice of truths,

* See Evid: of Christ: Vol: II. p. 63.

by no means to the admission of falsehood or insincerity : and secondly, to profit by the opportune and skilful use of all such circumstances as may effectually dispose the minds of their hearers for the admission and influence of salutary reflections.

Such are the outlines of a CHARGE which merits the most attentive perusal, not only of the clerical order, but of every friend to rational Christianity, and the religious instruction of mankind.



ANALYSIS OF DR. PALEY'S SERMON, ON
 THE DANGERS INCIDENTAL TO THE CLERICAL
 CHARACTER, PREACHED BEFORE THE UNI-
 VERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, ON COMMENCE-
 MENT SUNDAY, JULY 5th, 1795.

[Extracted from Dr. Percival's works, Vol : I. p. 308-314.]

“THE text is most happily appropriate, *Lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast away*; 1 Cor. ix. 27. He who felt this deep solicitude for the fate of his spiritual interests, and the persuasion that his acceptance with God must depend upon the care and exactness with which he regulated his own passions, and his own conduct, was one, who from his zeal in the cause of religion, from the ardour of his preaching, from his sufferings, or his success, might have hoped (if such hope were in any case admissible) for some excuse for indulgence, and some license for gratifications forbidden to others. Yet the apostle appears to have known, and by his knowledge instructs us, that no exertion of industry, no display of talents, no public merit, however exalted, will compensate for the neglect of personal self-government. This is an important

lesson to all, and to none more applicable than to the teachers of religion. For the human mind is prone, almost beyond resistance, to sink the weakness or the irregularities of private character in the view of public services ; and this propensity is not only strongest in a man's own case, but prevails more powerfully in religion, than in other subjects, from its close connection with the higher interests of human nature.

With many peculiar motives to virtue, and means of improvement in it, a minister of the gospel has obstacles presented to his progress, which require a distinct and positive effort of the mind to surmount. Amongst these impediments, I shall mention, in the first place, the insensibility to religious impressions, which a constant conversation with religious subjects, and still more a constant intermixture with religious offices, are wont to induce. For such is the frame of the human constitution, that whilst all active habits are facilitated and strengthened by repetition, impressions under which we are passive are weakened and diminished. What then is to be done? It is by an effort of reflection, by an active exertion of the mind, by knowing the force of this tendency, and by setting himself expressly to resist it, that he is to repair the decays of spontaneous piety. He is

to assist his sensitive by his rational nature, and to obviate his infirmities by a deeper sense of the obligations under which he lies ; and by a more frequent and distinct recollection of the reasons upon which those obligations are founded.

The principle here pointed out extends also to the influence which argument itself possesses upon the understanding, or at least to the influence it possesses in determining the will. For the force of every argument is diminished by triteness and familiarity. The intrinsic value, indeed, must be the same, but the impression may be very different.

But a clergyman has an additional disadvantage to contend with. The consequence of repetition will be felt more sensibly by him who is in the habit of directing his arguments to others : for it always requires a separate and unusual effort of the mind to bring back the conclusion upon himself. In morals and religion the powers of persuasion are cultivated by those whose employment is public instruction ; but their wishes are fulfilled, and their cares exhausted in promoting the success of their endeavours upon others. The secret duty of turning truly and in earnest their attention upon themselves is suspended, not to say forgotten, amidst the labours, the engagements, the popularity of their public mi-

nistry ; and in the best disposed minds is interrupted by the anxiety, or even the satisfaction, with which their public services are performed. These evils incidental to his profession are often augmented also by his own imprudence. In his desire to convince, he is extremely apt to *overstate* his arguments. Such zeal generally, I believe, defeats its own purpose, even with those whom he addresses ; but it always destroys the efficacy of the argument upon himself. He is conscious of his exaggeration, whether his hearers perceive it or not ; and this consciousness corrupts the whole influence of the conclusion, robbing it even of its just value. It may not be quite the same thing to overstate a true reason, and to advance a false one ; but in the former case there is assuredly a want of candour, which approaches almost to a want of veracity. If dangers to a clergyman's moral and religious character accompany the exercise of his public ministry, they no less attend upon the nature of his professional studies. It has been said, that literary trifling upon the scriptures has a tendency, above all other employments, to *soften* the heart. This observation is not applied to reprove the exercise, to check the freedom, or to question the utility, of biblical researches. But the critic and the commentator do

not always proceed with the reflection, that if these things be true, if this book do indeed convey to us the will of God, it is not only to be studied and criticised, but to be obeyed and acted upon. However sedulously and however successfully they may have cultivated religious studies, yet a more arduous, perhaps a new, and it may be a painful work, which the public eye sees not, which no public favour will reward, remains to be attempted—that of instituting an examination of the heart, and of the moral conduct ; of altering the secret course of behaviour ; of reducing its deviations to a conformity with those rules of life delivered in the holy scriptures, which, if deemed of sufficient importance to deserve to be seriously studied, ought, for reasons infinitely more momentous, to command uniform and full obedience.

A turn of thinking has of late become very general amongst the higher classes of the community, amongst all who occupy stations of authority, and in common with these, amongst the clergy, which deserves to be particularly noticed : what I refer to is the performance of our religious offices for the sake of *setting an example to others* ; and the allowing this motive so to take possession of the mind, as to substitute itself in the place of the proper ground and reason of the duty. Whenever this is the case, it

becomes not only a cold and extraneous, but a false and unreasonable principle of action. There must be some reason for every duty besides example, or there can be no sufficient reason for it at all. To suffer, therefore, a secondary consideration to exclude the primary and more important one is a perversion of the judgment, the effect of which, in the offices of religion, is utterly to destroy their religious quality, to rob them of that which constitutes their nature and their spirituality. They who would set an *example* to others of worship and devotion, in truth perform neither themselves. Idle or proud spectators of the scene, they vouchsafe their presence in our assemblies, for the edification, it seems, and benefit of others, but as if they had no sins of their own to deplore, no mercies to acknowledge, no pardon to entreat. Because we find it convenient to ourselves that those about us should be religious, or because it is useful to the state that religion should be upheld in the country;—to join from these motives in the public ordinances of the church, however advisable it may be as a branch of secular prudence, is not either to fulfil our Lord's precept, or to perform any religious service. Religion can only spring from its own principle. Believing our salvation to be involved in the faithful discharge of our religious

as well as moral duties ; experiencing the warmth, the consolation, the virtuous energy which every act of true devotion communicates to the heart, and how much these effects are heightened by consent and sympathy ; loving, and therefore seeking, the immortal welfare of our neighbour, we unite with him in acts of social homage to our maker : prompted by these sentiments our worship is what it ought to be, exemplary, yet our own, and not the less personal for being public.

If what has been stated concerning example be true, if the consideration of it be liable to be misapplied, no persons can be more in danger of falling into the mistake than they who are taught to regard themselves as the examples as well as instructors of their flocks. It is necessary they should be admonished particularly to remember, that in their religious offices they have not only to pronounce, to excite, to conduct the devotion of their congregation, but to pay to God the adoration which every individual owes to him ; and whilst they are exerting themselves for others, not to neglect the salvation of their own souls."

Having concluded this Epitome Dr. Percival proceeds, addressing his eldest son :

"In these excellent and judicious remarks of Dr. Paley, you will recognise several particulars advan-

ced by David Hume, in the reprobated charge against the clergy, delivered in the first note to his Essay on National Characters. He has there carried every point to the extreme, in order to disparage a profession to which he appears to have been extremely inimical. But the adage, *fas est et ab hoste doceri*, may be recommended to you on this occasion ; and after reading the epitome I have just drawn, I wish you to consult, and to peruse with attention, the note to which I have referred. There is certainly some truth, though mixed with great exaggeration, in each of the accusations Mr. Hume has brought against the sacerdotal character : and to become fully apprised of the *evil which most easily besets us*, is essential to the success of our efforts in guarding against it. To the following remark I would especially direct your attention. “ Though all mankind have a strong propensity to religion at certain times and in certain dispositions, yet there are few or none who have it to that degree or with that constancy which is requisite to this profession. It must therefore happen that clergymen being drawn from the common mass of mankind, as people are to other employments, by the views of profit ; the greater part will find it necessary, on particular occasions, to *feign* more devotion than they are at that time

possessed of, and to maintain the appearance of fervour and seriousness, even when jaded with the exercises of their religion, or when they have their minds engaged in the common occupations of life.”*

The spirit of devotion cannot be uniformly the same, even in the best constituted minds, at all seasons and under all circumstances. But though temporary abatement of fervour may be excusable, a minister when engaged in the public services of the church, ought never to lose the impression of the awful presence in which he stands : nor the power of commanding his thoughts, by recalling them to a consideration of the majesty of the Almighty Being whom he addresses. Absence of mind, indeed, does not deserve the imputation charged upon it by Mr. Hume, of grimace and hypocrisy ; yet it must be regarded as an insult to God *to draw near to Him with the lips, whilst the heart is far from Him* : and religious apathy will inevitably ensue from its frequent recurrence.”†

* Hume's Essay's, Edin : 1800. Vol: I. Note [1] p. 547.

† Percival's Works, Vol: I. p. 314, 315.

ANALYSIS OF DR. PALEY'S SERMON,
PREACHED AT THE ASSIZES AT DURHAM,
JULY 29th, 1795.

"For none of us liveth to himself." Rom. xiv. 7.

THE use of many of the precepts and maxims of scripture, is not so much to prescribe actions, as to generate some certain turn and habit of thinking : which may so rectify and meliorate the disposition, as to produce good actions, and good rules of acting, of their own accord. These maxims being well impressed, the detail of conduct may be left to itself, and the subtleties of casuistry spared : for when this disposition is perfected, the influence of religion, as a moral institution, is sufficiently established. In human laws whose ultimate sanctions are to be dispensed by fallible men, the safety, as well as the liberty of the subject requires, that discretion should be bound down by precise rules : which necessity has occasioned a prolixity, incumbering the law as a science to those who study and administer it, and perplexing it as a rule of conduct, to those whose sole duty it is to obey. Yet the inventive versatility of human fraud renders it perpetually necessary to

provide for new and unforeseen varieties of situations. Now should religion, which professes a more extensive influence, imitate the precision of human laws; the volume of its precepts would soon be rendered useless by its bulk, and unintelligible by its intricacy. The *seventy five thousand* precepts of the Code,* compiled by the successors of Mahomet shew the futility of the attempt; and prove by experiment, that religion can only act upon human life by general precepts addressed and applied to the disposition; and that the objection sometimes made to Christianity, as defective in preciseness when compared with human laws, is, from neglecting the radical distinction between them, unfounded and undeserved. The observation of the text is exactly of the nature alluded to. It supplies a principle; it furnishes a view of the duty of mankind, and the relations in which they are placed, which if attended to, will produce in the mind just determinations, and what are of more value, because more wanted, efficacious motives. "None of us liveth to himself." Life ought not to be regarded as a mere instrument of personal gratification, but as due to the service of God: to be employed in promoting his will in the happiness of others. This excellent turn of thought encounters

* See Hamilton's translation of the Hedaya or Guide.

selfishness, is intelligible to all, and to all in different degrees applicable. It incessantly prompts to exertion, to activity, to beneficence. If the rule and principle thus exhibited, be made for one class of mankind more than another, it is for men of public characters; who possess offices of importance, power, influence and authority. "They, certainly, live not to themselves." There may be occasions and emergencies, when men are called upon to take part in the public service, out of the ordinary limits of their vocation : but these emergencies seldom occur. "The public interest is best upheld, the public quiet always best preserved, by each attending closely to the proper and distinct duties of his station. In seasons of peril or consternation, this attention ought to be doubled. If ever there was a time, when they that rule, should rule with diligence ; when supineness, negligence, and remissness in office ; when a timidity or love of ease, which might in other circumstances be tolerated, ought to be proscribed and excluded, it is the present. If ever there was a time to make the public feel the benefit of public institutions, it is this."

Private stations, as they are called in contradistinction to public trusts, are affected by the same principle. In themselves, accurately estimated, there

are few such. Civil government is constituted for the happiness of the governed, and not for the gratification of those who administer it. The gradations of rank in society are only supported for the common good. Every man who possesses a fortune, is taught by this principle, to regard himself as in some measure occupying a public station ; as obliged to make it a channel of beneficence, an instrument of good to others, and not merely a supply to himself of the materials of luxury, ostentation, or avarice. A share of power and influence is necessarily attendant upon property ; upon the use or abuse of which, depends no little part of the virtue or vice, the happiness or misery of the community. Every man of rank may become the benefactor or the scourge of those with whom he is most intimately connected. This power, whencesoever it proceeds, brings along with it obligation and responsibility. It is a universal principle of natural and revealed religion, that those who possess faculties and opportunities whencesoever arising, ought to see in the intention of the donor, a demand for the use and application of his gift. The supply of the means, is the requisition of the duty ; to use the words of an excellent moralist,* “ the delivery of the talent is the call.” The judgment of mankind does

* Abraham Tucker.

not often fail them, in choosing the objects or species of their benevolence : but they want a sense of the obligation, and a disposition to seek or to embrace opportunities of rendering themselves useful.

Men of elevated stations are not placed above work, though that language, familiar to them from their infancy, has a tendency to make one portion of mankind envious and the other idle. The truth is, every man has his work : a different kind of work is indeed assigned to men of rank, not less wanted than manual labour, nor less essential to the common good. Were this maxim once received as a principle of conduct, it would completely remove the invidiousness of elevated stations. If men of fortune discharge the duties attached to the advantages they enjoy, they deserve these advantages. If not, they are morally in the situation of a poor man, who neglects his business and his calling ; and in no better.

Some people however will not be content to do little things. They will either attempt mighty matters or nothing. But the proper question is, whether the good they aim at, be the most which it is in their power to perform. The particular good within their reach is all they are concerned to attempt, or to enquire about. Not the smallest effort will be forgotten ; not a particle of virtue fall to the ground.

Endeavours, whether successful or not, will be estimated according to the relation they bear to the means and opportunities of the party ; to the disinterestedness, the sincerity, with which they were undertaken ; the pains and perseverance exerted in carrying them on. It is the doctrine of scripture, in the parable of the talents, that the right use of great faculties or opportunities will be more highly rewarded, than that of inferior and less. This distinction might be resolved at once into the will of the supreme benefactor : but its justice is sufficiently apparent. In the one case, the responsibility is greater, in the other, less. Still in both, the faithful servants will receive rewards, abundant beyond measure when compared with the services required, equitable and proportionate, when compared with one another. It is a principle of morality and scripture, alike true in all countries, that the obligation is commensurate with, and created solely by, the possession of opportunity : and civil institutions, in this country especially, acknowledge the principle, by constituting private fortunes into public stations. Indeed, a great part of the public business of the country is here transacted by the country itself : and upon the prudent and faithful management of it, depends in a great degree the interior prosperity of the nation, and the satisfaction of great bodies of the people. Not

only offices of magistracy are delegated to the principal inhabitants, but there is in every county, a high and venerable tribunal, to which the owners of permanent property are indiscriminately called. The wisdom of man hath not devised a happier institution than that of juries, nor one founded in a juster knowledge of human life, or of human capacity. In jurisprudence, the points ultimately rest upon common sense : but it requires not only a superior understanding, but also a technical and peculiar erudition, to reduce a question accurately to these points. Agreeably to this distinction, which runs perhaps through all sciences, what is preliminary, is left to the legal profession, what is final, to the plain understanding of plain men. To inform the judgment of such men, to draw the advice, which falls with so much weight, from the purest sources, Judges, who have spent their lives in the study and administration of the laws, and who are strangers to local contentions, parties, and prejudices, to every thing except the evidence which they hear, are sent down into the country. "The effect corresponds with the wisdom of the design. Juries may err and frequently do so ; but there is no system of error incorporated with their constitution. Corruption, terror, influence, are excluded by it ; and prejudice, in a great degree, though not entirely. This danger, which consists in

juries viewing one class of men, or one class of rights, in a more or less favorable light, than another, is the only one to be feared, and to be guarded against. It is a disposition, which, whenever it rises up in the minds of jurors, ought to be repressed, by their probity, their consciences, the sense of their duty, the remembrance of their oaths. This institution is not more salutary, than it is grateful and honorable to those popular feelings of which all good governments are tender. Hear the language of the law. In the most momentous interests, in the last peril indeed of human life, the accused appeals to God and his country, "which country you are." What pomp of titles, what display of honors, can equal the real dignity, which these few words confer upon those to whom they are addressed? They shew by terms the most solemn and significant, how highly the law deems of the functions and character of a jury: they shew also, with what care of the safety of the subject it is, that the same law has provided for every one a recourse to the fair and indifferent arbitration of his neighbours. This is substantial equality; real freedom: equality of protection; freedom from injustice. May it never be invaded, never abused! May it be perpetual! And it will be so, if the affection of the country continue to be preserved to it, by the integrity of those who are charged with its office."

A

SHORT MEMOIR

OF

RICHARD YATES, M. A.

MASTER OF THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT
APPLEBY IN WESTMORELAND.

MR. YATES was born at a village near Bampton in Westmoreland, about the year 1700; for the date of his age went with that of the century. He received his early education at the free grammar school of Bampton; a school of some celebrity, where the learned Bishop Gibson had been educated about thirty years before. From thence, in 1715, he went to Queen's college, Oxford, so young, that it was not thought adviseable to admit him, at once, to the discipline and service of a scholarship, which somewhat retarded his proceeding to a bachelor's degree. During his years of residence in the university, he usually passed the long vacation, under the hospitable roof of a literary friend and kinsman in London, to whose instruction he often confessed himself indebted for his skill in reading the English language;

in which, a most powerful and harmonious voice, under the direction of a sound judgment, enabled him to excel. At Oxford, he proceeded bachelor of arts in 1721, but did not take his master's degree till 1730.

In the interim, about 1722, he was appointed master of the free grammar school at Appleby, in his native county, on the nomination of Queen's college; in which society, from the implicit deference so long paid to its authority, the appointment, which is actually in trustees, was at that time partly supposed to rest. This school he taught, with great ability and reputation, for fifty-eight years, without adopting the usual custom, except in one or two instances, of receiving boarders into his house. The endowment, for several years of his mastership, scarcely exceeded 60*l.* a year; but by the division of Sandford-moor, a common to a share of which the school-lands were entitled, about 1755, it was raised to the annual value of 90*l.* Boys belonging to the parish paid regularly, for their education, one shilling a quarter, on the quarter day: gentlemen's sons, who were not parishioners, one guinea entrance and two guineas a year; and children of the middle ranks only half that sum. Such was the low price of classical instruction, in the last century, under a teacher who was often styled, by way of emi-

nence, the BUSBY of the north.

As Mr. Yates was but little acquainted with any branch of the mathematics, his teaching was chiefly confined to the Greek and Latin languages, though he took more pains to make his scholars good readers of English, than is usual at grammar schools. Of his skill in the Latin language he was indeed justly proud, since few men in his profession were so intimately and practically conversant with the best writers of the Augustan age. In the explanation of their works he was eminently distinguished for a vein of plain good sense, and a judgment thoroughly correct, except perhaps as it was a little warped, sometimes in advancing conjectural emendations of the text, or sometimes in exploring the supposed latent meaning of his author. Horace was his favorite amongst the Roman classics, and he had enriched his own copy of that elegant poet, in 24to, by inserting several ingenious and happy corrections: but in whose possession this valuable book remains, is unknown.

The young men under his own immediate care generally consisted of two classes, of about twenty each. It was the constant evening exercise of the head class, to translate portions of the Spectator into Latin. In this he accompanied his scholars, and in time completed an entire translation of the second

volume, and of several papers in the first, which has been considered as a model of good style for the purpose. Mr. Yates also drew up some *Rules of Syntax for the construction of the Latin language*, and *Rules of Prosody* for the use of his scholars, which were transmitted in manuscript from one generation to another. The great merit and usefulness of these compilations has been acknowledged by many adequate judges, and it was much lamented that he could never be prevailed upon to prepare them for the press ; as besides the obvious advantage of being drawn up in the English language, they are more full and satisfactory than most books of the kind in common usage.*

Mr. Yates never took orders, as the master of Appleby school is not allowed by the statutes to hold any ecclesiastical preferment with a cure of souls, and as he wished to avoid the importunities of the neighbouring clergy, which might have interfered with his own engagements : few men were, otherwise, better qualified to discharge the duties of a Christian minister. He was strongly attached to the doctrines and discipline of the church of England ; and being very correct and regular in his own atten-

* The Rules of Syntax have since been published in a thin 16mo Volume, by S. Hodgson, Newcastle, 1795.

tion to the duties of religion, he strenuously inculcated the necessity of such attention on the minds of all his scholars. He accordingly assembled them in school every Sunday, from seven o'clock till nine, from one till three, and occasionally after evening service till five. The *Greek Testament* and *Grotius de Veritate Christianæ Religionis*, or any interesting publication of some eminent divine, which had recently appeared in the English language, were the usual lessons of the head class ; the second generally construed *Castalio's Dialogues* ; and the younger boys were employed by the usher in reading successively some portion of the *Old or New Testament* or of *the Whole Duty of Man*. Their daily labours in the school were begun and ended with prayers selected from the liturgy ; and they all attended church not only on the sabbath both morning and evening, but every wednesday and friday at morning prayers. Those who had attained a proper age were duly prepared for confirmation ; and after that ceremony, instructed in the duty and obligation of receiving the Lord's supper. At the great festivals, particularly at Easter, Mr. Yates then conducted them to the communion table, and there recommended his precepts by the authority of his example. His system of education, therefore, was well adapted to prepare candidates for

holy orders; and he was probably the instructor of more clergymen, than any other single teacher of his own, or any former age; since he furnished nearly half the foundation of Queen's college,* and completed the education of numbers, who without the advantages of a university, supplied the lower ranks of the establishment, as curates, or became the masters of provincial schools.

Mr. Yates's great merit as a master was a persevering and undivided application to the duties of his profession, and a close attention, not only to the intellectual, but the moral proficiency of his scholars. By some he has been reckoned severe and choleric, but that severity was at least much abated in his latter years. As he took a sort of parental interest in the future welfare of his scholars, both at their setting forth and progress in life, he must have received no common gratification when any of them obtained deserved celebrity in their several pursuits. Amongst his scholars pre-eminence is justly due to that able and upright lawyer Sir Joseph Yates, who whilst one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, so often distinguished himself by a firm and dignified resistance to the principles and practice of

* The foundation of this college is confined to the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland.

Lord Mansfield,* and whose opinion in the great cause concerning literary property, though opposed by a majority of the Judges, was confirmed by the final decision of the House of Lords. Mr. Relph, the Theocritus of Cumberland, was perhaps at school the contemporary of the embryo Judge, for he too was one of the earliest of Mr. Yates's pupils, and died, in the flower of life, the respectable pastor of his native village Sebergham, in 1743.† Dr. Langhorne, a writer of greater celebrity, with his school-fellow Dr. Collinson, the present provost of Queen's college, Oxford, witnessed the maturity of Mr. Yates's talents and reputation, in the midst of his career. At the same period, Mr. Farrer, vicar of Stanwix near Carlisle, who for many years afterwards pursued the steps of his master, in the conduct of the grammar school at Witton-le-Wear, Durham, was successively Mr. Yates's pupil and assistant; and Mr. Farrer, jun. the author of some valuable sermons on the parables, and a Bampton lecturer, benefitted by the yet unimpaired vigor of his faculties in the decline of life.

Thus was Mr. Yates, for more than half a century, engaged in discharging the arduous duties of a school-

* See Junius's Letter to Lord Mansfield, 14th Nov. 1770.

† See Relph's Poems and Life, 2d Edit: Carlisle, 1798.

master, and influencing in no small degree, both the religious and classical instruction of the North of England. He was verging fast towards his eightieth year, when Mr. Paley was collated to the vicarage of St. Lawrence, Appleby, in 1777 ; but an intimacy was soon formed between these eminent men, whose attention had been equally devoted, though in a different sphere of utility, to the instruction of youth.

Mr. Yates was an alderman of Appleby, though, as he did not attach himself to the prevailing interest, he never attained the mayoralty ; he was also a surrogate under Dr. Burn, chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle. Having acquired, by marriage, some property in the parish of Kirby Stephen, he became, during his latter years, the principal in a law suit, carried on by several of the land-owners of that parish, who resisted the vicar's claims to the payment of the hay-tythe in kind, instead of the accustomed modus ; and, after a long trial in which the rival talents of Mr. Lee and Mr. Wallace were strenuously exerted for the adverse parties, he gained his own and the public cause.

In the prime of life Mr. Yates must have been a very handsome man ; for he was fair, tall, and upright, venerable and prepossessing in his personal

appearance to the last. He commonly wore a clerical dress, and, at one time, a wig flowing rather loose behind, in the style of a preceding century. With the dress he combined the manners of the old school of politeness ; and to the manners he united the sentiments, and independent spirit of a gentleman. By some he has been deemed parsimonious ; a charge often repeated against those, who having from necessity adopted economical habits in their early years, cannot easily change them afterwards ; but notwithstanding this, he has been known to do many acts and offices of generosity to his scholars and friends.

Mr. Yates died in December 1781, and was buried at Kirby Stephen ; but the following just and expressive Eulogy, written by Mr. Paley, was soon after inscribed on a monument, erected to his memory in the church of St. Lawrence, Appleby.

To preserve the Remembrance
 of a long, and valuable Life,
 spent in the most useful of all Employments,
 this Marble is inscribed with the Name
 of

RICHARD YATES, M. A.

Fifty-eight Years Master of the Grammar School
 in this Town;

whom

an accurate Knowledge of Roman Literature;
 a just and harmonious Elocution,
 unwearied Diligence,

and

a serious Attention to the moral
 and religious Improvement of his Pupils,
 eminently qualified
 for the important Station which he held.

He died December the 31st, A. D. 1781,
 and in the Eighty-first Year of his Age.

After Mr. Yates's death, Mr. Paley being consulted as to the propriety of publishing his Latin translations from the *Spectator*, dissuaded it, as a work not likely to excite interest or engage attention, except amongst a few of those for whose instruction it had been originally designed ; in consequence of which the intention was given up.

By his wife, Miss Hartley of Kirby Stephen, who survived him many years, Mr. Yates left two daughters, who both died in middle life ; Jane, the eldest, being married to Mr. Reed of Hurworth, in the county of Durham, and Ann to Mr. Munkhouse of Winton in Westmoreland. The only son of Mr. Reed, a sensible spirited youth, was a short time under Mr. Paley's care at Carlisle in 1794, but unfortunately lost his life in the Humber, in the following year, whilst under the tuition of Mr. Milner of Hull. The family of Mr. Munkhouse, therefore, are now the only surviving descendants of Mr. Yates.

G. W. M.



CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

DR. PERCIVAL & ARCHDEACON PALEY,

ON SUBSCRIPTION TO ARTICLES OF FAITH.

[Extracted from the Literary Correspondence of Dr. Percival :
Works, Vol: I. p. CXLVI.—CLI.]

FROM DR. PERCIVAL TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON
PALEY.

Manchester, June 20th, 1788.

“WHAT apology shall I offer for the liberty I am now presuming to take with you? The very high respect which I entertain for your talents and character, operates upon me at once as an incitement and restraint; and whilst I am solicitous to avail myself of your counsel and assistance, I am diffident in requesting them, from a consciousness of having no claim to be honoured with either. But the occasion requires a sacrifice of feeling to judgment; and I shall trust to your goodness to excuse, if peculiar reasons do not justify, my present application to you.

My oldest son, whom I intended for the profession of physic, by his residence at St. John's college,

and connections in Cambridge, has had his views changed, and is now strongly inclined to go into the church. But previous to his final decision, he wishes to settle his mind on several important topics comprehended in the articles of faith. The chapter on religious establishments, in your excellent System of Moral and Political Philosophy, has had great weight with him; and he has this morning expressed to me an earnest desire to have the benefit of your personal instructions, on points so interesting to his future peace, prosperity, and usefulness. Is it possible for him to enjoy this singular privilege, for the space of a few weeks? I shall cordially acquiesce in any terms that you may prescribe, and with a grateful sense of obligation to you.

I am a Dissenter; but actuated by the same spirit of catholicism which you possess. An establishment I approve; the church of England in many respects, I honour; and should think it my duty to enter instantly into her communion, were the plan which you have proposed in your tenth chapter carried into execution.*”——

* A comprehensive national religion, guarded by a few articles of peace and conformity, together with a legal provision for the clergy of that religion; and with a *complete* toleration of all dissenters from the established church, without any other limitation or exception than what arises from the conjunction of dan-

FROM THE REV. ARCHDEACON PALEY TO
DR. PERCIVAL.

Carlisle, June 25th, 1788.

“I desire you to accept my thanks for the many obliging expressions of respect which your letter contains. If the state of my engagements had allowed me to spare a few weeks to a personal conference with your son upon any subject of doubt which he should chance to propose, it would have been a pleasure to me to have complied with your wishes, from a sense both of private obligation and of public esteem. As my time is at present very little in my own power, and my being at home very uncertain, I know not how I can contribute to your son’s satisfaction in any better way than by sending you a few additional explanatory observations upon

gerous political dispositions with certain religious tenets, appears to be, not only the most just and liberal, but the wisest and safest system, which a state can adopt : inasmuch as it unites the several perfections which a religious constitution ought to aim at—liberty of conscience, with means of instruction ; the progress of truth, with the peace of society ; the right of private judgment, with the care of the public safety.” Prin: of Mor: and Pol: Phil: B. VI. Ch. 10. Vol: II. p. 343.

what I have written in my chapter, entitled, ‘ of subscription.’

1st. If any person understand and believe all the several propositions in the thirty nine articles, and in the liturgy and homilies, which they recognize, there can be no place for doubt.

2d. If a person think that every such proposition is probable, or as probable as the contrary or any other supposition on the subject, there can be no just cause of scruple.

3d. If a person, after using due enquiry, understand some of the propositions in the thirty nine articles, but not all, and assent to those propositions which he does understand, I think he may safely subscribe.

4th. If a person think any part of the discipline, government, rites, or worship of the church of England to be *forbidden*, he certainly ought not to subscribe; but certain parts of these being not commanded, or not the best possible, or not good and useful, or not reasonable, (for many things may be absurd, and yet very innocent,) is not, in my opinion, a sufficient ground of objection.

5th. If there be certain particular propositions in the articles which he disbelieves, although he assent to the main part of them, as well as to the lawfulness of the established government and worship of

the church, then arises the case in which the principal difficulty consists. And as to this case, I find no reason, upon much re-consideration, to question the principle I have laid down, viz. ‘that if the intention and view of the legislature, which imposed subscription, be satisfied, it is enough.’ But here comes a doubt, whether we can be permitted to go out of the terms of subscription, that is to say, the words of the statute, to collect the intention of the legislature, or not. If we look to the terms of the subscription, they seem to require a positive assent to each and every proposition contained in the articles, so as that believing any one such proposition to be untrue, is inconsistent with subscription. If we may be allowed to judge of the design and object of the legislature from the nature of the case, and the ordinary maxims of human conduct, it appears likely that they meant to fence out such sects and characters as were hostile and dangerous to the new establishment, viz. popery, and the tenets of the continental anabaptists; rather than expect, what they must have known to be impracticable, the exact agreement of so many minds in such a great number of controverted propositions.

Now, concerning this doubt, viz. whether we may or not go out of the terms of the statute to collect the design of the legislature, (which question I think

involves the whole difficulty,) I can only say that a court of justice, in interpreting written laws, certainly could not, and ought not ; for any such liberty would give to courts of justice the power of making laws ; but I do not see that any danger or insecurity will be introduced by allowing this liberty to private persons. I mean, that private persons acting under the direction of a law may be said to do their duty, if they act up to what they believe to be the design of the legislature in making the law ; whether their opinion of that design be founded upon the terms of the statute alone, or upon the nature of the subject and the actual probability.

If I had the pleasure of your son's presence, I know not whether I ought to say any thing more. It is the office of an adviser in such cases to suggest general principles. The application of these principles to each person's case must be made by the person himself, who alone knows the state of his own thoughts. I have only to add, that Burnet's seems a fair explication of the sense of the articles."



"The Rev. Thomas Bassnett Percival," in whom the preceding correspondence originated; "was, in the early part of his life, destined for the profession

of physic; and accordingly, after residing two years at St. John's college, in the university of Cambridge, he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he attended the lectures of the medical professors. But his distaste for these pursuits was soon manifest, and he remained there during one session only. His preference for the clerical profession, which he had early indulged, began to increase in proportion as he relinquished other views; and he at length resolved on returning to Cambridge, where he pursued his theological and moral studies, without interruption, during three years. He proceeded to the degree of L. L. B. in the year 1789; and shortly after received ordination from his diocesan the Bishop of Chester. About the same period he was nominated, by the obliging friendship of the late Marquis of Waterford, one of his lordship's chaplains; and was appointed by the Rev. Geoffry Hornby, rector of Winwick in Lancashire, one of the curates of that parish. In this retirement he continued for some time, experiencing on all occasions the liberal and active kindness of his patron. But a vacancy occurring in the church belonging to the factory of British merchants at St. Petersburg, he was induced to declare himself candidate for the office of chaplain; and by the zealous exertions of several of his friends connected with

that settlement, he succeeded in gaining the appointment. In consequence of this determination, he set sail from England, and arrived at St. Petersburg in September, 1792.

The integrity and the assiduity with which Mr. Percival discharged the various functions of his profession, were testified on more than one occasion, by the unsolicited marks of the company's respect and liberality ; and at the melancholy period of his decease, May 27th, 1798, in the 32d year of his age, the factory unanimously adopted the resolution of attending his remains to the grave, and bearing the charge of his public interment. An account of this ceremony, which was transmitted from St. Petersburg, states, that ' eight of the principal gentlemen of the factory were pall-bearers ; and his corpse was followed to the place of burial by upwards of one hundred and fifty of his countrymen, with heavy hearts.' A neat plain stone, it is added, ' marks where one of the best men that ever died in this country lies.'"

" Purity and ingenuousness of disposition, a most lively and scrupulous sense of moral duty, were among his conspicuous excellencies. But the delicacy and perhaps the reserve of his mind often concealed the liberal accomplishments with which na-

ture and education had furnished him. His attainments, both as a scholar and divine, were considerable; and his pulpit discourses, whilst they manifest superior powers of composition, breathe throughout the spirit of seriousness and liberality”*

* *Percival's Works*, Vol: I. p. CCII, CCIII, CCLXI. CCLXII.



Note p. 135

PROCEEDINGS AT A MEETING

OF THE

INHABITANTS OF CARLISLE,

CONVENED BY PUBLIC NOTICE,

ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9th, 1792,

TO PETITION PARLIAMENT FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE
SLAVE TRADE.

The Archdeacon of Carlisle in the Chair.



ARCHDEACON PALEY, on being called to the chair by the general voice of the company, stated the purpose for which they were assembled, and informed them that a petition to the House of Commons, for the Abolition of the Slave trade, might either be drawn up in the usual form, or founded upon certain resolutions previously agreed to by the meeting. The last mode of proceeding, being thought most eligible by the company, the chairman brought forward a series of propositions on the subject, which he introduced in a masterly and argumentative speech; of which the following substance was afterwards published from the recollections of gentleman present.

“The continent of Africa is inhabited by people differing from the inhabitants of Europe in their complexion, manners, and institutions. The inhabitants of those parts to which the Europeans resort for slaves being under no right form of government, and civil polity, live in a constant state of hostility to each other. Chief makes war against chief, town against town, and village against village. The vanquished are made slaves to the victors, and one plundering excursion gives rise to another. Mutual depredations are continued, and the weak becomes a prey to the strong. But the African Slave trade encourages and perpetuates those usages, so disgraceful to human nature, and so detrimental to the well-being of society. For, as the intention of those British ships which visit Africa, is to purchase slaves, and as these can be procured from the natives, only by their committing acts of hostility upon one another; so, whilst the importation of slaves is carried on, the unhappy Africans will always have an incitement to mutual wars, and the vanquished will be made captives and sold to the slave-merchant.

Africa abounds in many valuable and rich productions; the soil, in many places, is rich, and capable of high cultivation. Cotton, indigo, and the sugarcane, being suited to the climate, might be cultivated

with great advantage ; and, were the natives taught to rear them, the nations of Europe might carry on a much more valuable trade with that part of the world, than the trade in slaves. But the continuance of this *diabolical* traffic has been, and will always be an insuperable bar to every such improvement, and just commercial connection. Moreover, the Slave trade is inimical to every improvement in the morals and civil condition of the Africans. The trader in slaves visits Africa, not with an intention to instruct the poor natives ; not to teach them the principles of morality and religion ; not to meliorate their condition as men ;—but to reduce them into a state of endless slavery ! And, when he has sold them in the West Indies, the planter exacts their labour with severity ; but dreads their emancipation, and, with a criminal indulgence, allows them to increase in profligacy and wickedness.

The situation and sufferings of the slaves, in their passage from Africa to the British West Indies, is such, as wholly to preclude the exercise of humanity. How humane and tender hearted soever the captain and crew of a slave-ship may be, it is impossible for them to alleviate the sufferings of their cargo. When Sir William Dolben's bill, which allows a certain number of feet in the ship to every

two slaves, was brought into Parliament, those concerned in the trade, combated it with this argument; that to be obliged to carry only a certain number of slaves, would be in effect to give up the trade, for that it could not be carried on, if reduced to the number specified in the bill. Therefore, as the slaves are confined to so little room on ship-board, each not having the space which a dead body occupies in its coffin, so their sufferings must still continue whilst the Slave trade exists, as those concerned in it cannot carry it on, if the slaves are allowed more room in the middle passage.

Increase and multiply, is the first law of nature, and it is evident from experience and observation, that no class of beings, when they have a sufficiency of food, and live in a climate suited to their constitution, ever decrease, but still keep up their numbers: the lowest class of the Irish affords a proof in point. They are poor, and in point of situation, in a state of slavery; yet they not only keep up their numbers, but are greatly upon the increase; an evidence that they have plenty of food, and live in a climate which suits them. The climate of the West Indies is not hostile to an African constitution; and yet there is an annual waste of twenty thousand slaves in the British West India Islands: a demon-

stration, that the slaves in the British plantations, have not a sufficiency of food, or that their food is unwholesome, or both ; for, were they properly treated, they would, at least, keep up their numbers.

This being so, the following inference may be justly drawn ; that to remedy this evil, and enable the slaves not only to keep up their numbers, but increase them, the future importation of slaves from Africa into the British West Indies, must be prohibited. It is then, and only then, that the planters will be convinced of the necessity of adopting just regulations, and exercising proper dispositions towards their slaves. Were the importation stopped, the West Indians would take the greatest care to preserve the lives, and better the morals of their slaves. They would not encourage the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, prostitution, and other wickednesses ; they would enact wholesome laws concerning marriage ; every man would have his own wife ; they would be careful of their offspring ; they would establish families, and allow them wherewith to support them ; they would not neglect the education of the black children. But this will not come to pass, whilst the waste of slaves can be supplied from Africa, and as long as they think they can procure them at a cheaper rate than they can rear them.

The enemies to an abolition of the Slave trade acknowledge, that the charges brought against it, are founded upon a few solitary instances of cruelty, which might happen, and have happened in England, or in any other country ; but that the necessity of putting a stop to the Slave trade, cannot be justly argued from these.

To this it may be observed, that all these singular cases are put out of the question. None of the propositions rest upon one or two instances of cruelty, but proceed upon this data, that there is some *radical error* at the bottom, something fundamentally wrong. Particular instances of cruelty, proceeding from the passions of men, may happen, and yet those in a servile state, be upon the whole, comparatively happy ; but it is the general treatment which the slaves receive, a treatment, the necessary consequence of the Slave trade, which renders their case so very hard, and which never will be better whilst the importation from Africa is permitted. That a trade however admits the possibility, the impunity, of such instances of cruelty, and we fear, occasions the frequency of such examples, is certainly an objection to its being carried on.

The West Indian slave has but a small chance of having justice done him. The slave-holder is both judge and juror, and we know how ready men are

to be biassed, when their own interest is in view. Of this a proof was given in what happened to a planter, who beat his female slave with his own hands, in so cruel a manner, that she died about half an hour after. He was tried for the murder of his slave, and acquitted, upon the oath of a surgeon, who swore, that she was subject to fits when she was seventeen years of age : though it is well known, that many women are subject to them at that time of life. The truth is, she died of the blows she received from her master. This planter's case, was exactly similar to that of Mrs. Brownrigg, who was condemned, and executed, some years ago, for the murder of her apprentice girl. But the one was tried by an impartial English jury, and the other by a jury of West Indian slave-holders.

Those who are averse to the abolition of the traffic in slaves, combat the solid reasons for its prohibition, with specious, but weak arguments. 'Slavery,' they say, 'existed in Africa, before the English, or any other European nation, visited that part of the world to purchase slaves; therefore to impute to the Guinea trade, the evils which it is said to occasion, is an unjust accusation.' To this argument it has been answered, that the allegation is futile, and can have no weight; for, though the Europeans were not the original cause

of slavery in Africa, yet they certainly perpetuate, by a traffic in human flesh, the evils which necessarily result from it. And if men, with a view to their own interest, do, what in them lies, to continue wicked and unnatural customs, they may be said, with great justice, to be the immediate cause of them. Scalping was in practice among the Indians, long before the Europeans made settlements in America. None will surely plead in favour of scalping. But suppose scalps should become of request in Europe, and a trade in them be carried on with the American Indians, might it not be justly said, that the Europeans, by their trade in scalps, did all they could to perpetuate, amongst the natives of America, the inhuman practice of scalping?

It is also alleged, that the miseries which result from the Slave trade, would not be diminished, even supposing the importation of slaves from Africa into the British West Indies, were to cease; for that other nations, availing themselves of that circumstance, would take possession of the trade we relinquished. This is an argument of no force; it is only a weak excuse to palliate a practice replete with many evils, and can have no weight with those who see the Slave trade in its proper light. What other nations may, or may not do, should have no weight

with the inhabitants of Britain ; the Slave trade has been clearly proved to be incompatible with the natural rights of man, contrary to the principles of religion and morality, founded in extreme injustice, and the cause of many cruelties. Shall it be said, that this horrid complexioned trade must be continued, because if we give it up, other nations will take possession of it? Every person, but those swayed by a sordid interest, will scout the idea.

However, suppose other nations should not follow the example of Britain, but still continue the *inhuman traffic*. We have done our duty, by doing all we could to put an end to the evils of slavery. When we are convinced of the justness and propriety of certain actions, we do not allow ourselves to be influenced by probable conjectures about the conduct of others ; no, we act in consequence of what seems to us to be just and right. The prohibition of the Slave trade, is just and right ; this let us endeavour to obtain, without troubling ourselves about the manner in which other nations may act. But, (as is well expressed in the propositions) one good consequence of prohibiting the importation of slaves into the British West Indies will be, a decrease of the mass of wickedness and misery, attending the trade, in the same proportion that the waste of slaves,

in our islands, bears to the supply of other European settlements.

A bad cause is supported by bad arguments. The friends to the Slave trade adduce, in proof of the injustice and impolicy of its abolition, the late insurrection at St. Domingo. That such an insurrection of the slaves has existed, cannot be denied; that many lives have been lost, and much damage done, must be lamented; but this insurrection was owing to a principle inherent in every man, and proves only, "that a slave watches his opportunity to get free." The revolution in France, reached their West India settlements, the people of colour wished to participate equal privileges with the whites; which the latter were unwilling to grant them, notwithstanding the French National Assembly had decreed, if I mistake not, that both should enjoy all the rights of free citizens. This gave occasion to animosities and quarrels, and the slaves, thinking it the favorable moment to get free, rebelled, and retaliated upon their masters, for the many hardships which they had endured. But no such evil can be dreaded from the abolition of the Slave trade, as we do not aim at the emancipation of the slaves, in the British West Indies, but only wish that the future importation of them, from Africa, may be prohibited. Let the slave-hol-

der use those now in his possession, with humanity and kindness, and he will have no cause to be afraid of an insurrection. In vain do the white inhabitants of the British West Indies say, they are kind and humane masters, and their slaves happy in their present situation. The application to government, for an additional military force, the purchase of arms for themselves, and the associations entered into by the whites, are proofs in point, that so far from being humane, as they would make us believe, they are severe task-masters, who rule their slaves with a rod of iron. Did the West Indian planter treat his slaves in the manner servants are treated in England, they would at all times be the faithful defenders of his life and property. Besides, the prohibition of the importation of slaves from Africa, could be no incitement to the slaves in the British West Indies to rebel, but rather the contrary ; as it will be an inducement to the slave-holder to use his slaves better, knowing that he is precluded from a future supply.

To say then, that the principle of liberty, which excites the slave to gain his freedom, had no existence previous to the discussions and transactions which have passed upon the subject in England, is very unjust. This is a principle of nature which every human being has, in a greater or less degree, and, un-

less this principle be totally destroyed by severe and tyrannical treatment, it will shew itself upon every proper occasion.

Let the friends to the abolition of the Slave trade, act with firmness and moderation ; let them take every opportunity to disseminate through Britain a knowledge of this iniquitous traffic, and, as the cause they espouse, is that of humanity and justice, there are strong reasons to believe, that their generous exertions will in time prove successful."

The Chairman having finished this luminous and comprehensive speech, the several propositions which he brought forward were successively put to the vote, and it was unanimously

" Resolved,

That it appears to us,

I. That the exercise of the Slave trade, upon the coast of Africa, has a necessary tendency to encourage and perpetuate the vicious usages and institutions which prevail in that country ; and to obstruct other commercial intercourse with the inhabitants, as well as all improvements in their moral character and civil condition.

II. That the sufferings of the Slaves in the middle passage are inseparable from the trade.

III. That it is contrary to uniform experience, and to the known laws of nature, that any class of human beings, who are properly treated, and placed in a climate suiting with their constitution, should not be able to keep up their numbers.

IV. That consequently, to prohibit the future importation of slaves into the British West Indies, is only to lay the planters under a necessity of forming and executing proper dispositions and regulations in favor of the Negroes already in those islands, which dispositions and regulations, without such necessity, we conceive will not be formed, or if formed, will not be executed.

V. That whereas it is alleged, that the charges brought against the Slave trade are founded in extreme cases of cruelty and misconduct ; in the conclusions above stated, these cases are not in any manner relied upon, although it be an additional objection to the trade, that it admits the possibility, the impunity, and as we fear, the frequency of such examples.

VI. That it is a weak excuse for a bad practice to say, that if we do not pursue it others will ; but that even this excuse is inapplicable to the present case, because the prohibiting of the importation of slaves into the British West Indies, whether the example be followed by other nations or not, will diminish

the mass of wickedness and misery attending the trade, in the proportion that the waste of slaves in our islands bears to the supply of other European settlements.

VII. That the late insurrection at St. Domingo, proves only, 'that a slave watches his opportunity to get free.'

VIII. That the existence of this principle cannot, without extreme injustice, be ascribed to the discussions and transactions which have passed upon the subject in England.

IX. That a petition to Parliament, stating the above reasons, and praying the abolition of the Slave trade, be now proposed, and that after receiving the signatures of such inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, as choose to subscribe it, the members for the city be requested to present the same to the House of Commons.

X. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Rev. Archdeacon Paley, for his excellent speech and conduct in the chair."

A petition containing the substance of these resolutions being also approved of by the meeting, and signed by a number of the inhabitants, was presented to the House of Commons, on the 27th of the same Month.

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MR. ROBERTSON

AND

ARCHDEACON PALEY,

ON AN ALLEGED LITERARY DEPREDACTION.

[From the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LXII. 1792.]

*"Thou shalt not steal."*

Catechism by Paley, p. 34.

"Marlborough-street, Feb. 12.

"MR. URBAN,

"WHEN the press teems with innumerable publications in every department of literature, it is no wonder that many of them are mere compilations; the observations, arguments, and opinions, of preceding writers, thrown together into one general mass, and presented to the public under some new and ostentatious title. We have volumes after volumes, collected from the works of the most eminent authors, filled with heterogeneous fragments, which distract and confound the readers memory and imagination, and consequently leave no useful impression on the mind. Some dealers in this piratical

commerce take every opportunity they can seize, for converting the works of others to their own emolument. With this view, they mangle and pillage them in an arbitrary manner, till they have either made the original composition appear to the utmost disadvantage, or devoured it, as rapaciously as the harpies devoured the provisions of Æneas and his companions.

Though, as the author of two or three humble publications, I did not imagine that I should be exposed to piratical depredations, yet I have found myself deceived. I did not recollect, that a petty thief will steal a scraper.

* * * * *

Some time after the appearance of “an introduction to the study of polite literature,” a certain reverend gentleman in the North republished the greatest part of that tract for the use of Sunday-schools, and others in general. To this compilation he has prefixed his name and his titles of honor, William Paley, M. A. Archdeacon of Carlisle. But he has not condescended to make the *least* acknowledgment, or to offer the least apology for his plagiarism, though it constitutes the first thirty pages of his publication; to which he has subjoined the catechism, a few passages of scripture, two or three

prayers, some *divine songs*, and other pious *collectanea*, which would not have answered his purpose, or been saleable, without the former part.

I think myself amply justified in thus mentioning the editor of this disingenuous publication, as it continues to be so'd (notwithstanding a *former* remonstrance) by his booksellers in Carlisle and Bond-street!* In his next edition the conscientious arch-deacon is desired to inform his readers, how such an invasion of private property can be justified on the "principles of moral and political philosophy."

As the ingenious young students of the floating academy are subject to penal statutes, it is but reasonable, that all pilferers in the republic of letters should be chastised, in proportion to their demerits. Your impartiality, Mr. Urban, and regard for ingenious learning, will, I hope, induce you to give these strictures a place in your magazine; not for the sake of the writer, but for the most important purposes, the discouragement of plagiarism, and protection of literary property.

"Yours, &c.

J. ROBERTSON."

* This fraudulent publication, entituled "The Young Christian instructed in Reading, &c" bears some appearance and symptoms of guilt in its front.—No London booksellers name, though published in the metropolis!

“ Carlisle, March 18th, 1792.

“ MR. URBAN,

“ IN the Gentleman's Magazine for February, p. 131, I am accused by the Rev. Mr. Robertson of invading his property in a certain work, published by him under the title of “ an introduction to the study of polite literature.” As you have thought proper to admit into your miscellany Mr. Robertson's complaint, I expect, from your regard to justice, that you will find a place for my answer. Your readers then must first of all be told, what, from the air of importance which is given to the charge, they would not readily imagine, that this same “ introduction to the study of polite literature” is a spelling book ; that one entire page of the original, for the crime of purloining which I am thus brought before the public, is verbally and literally as follows :

LESSON III. .

A bag	a cap	a mat
A nag	a map	a hat
A bun	a nut	a spy
A gun	a hut	a fly

and that, except some short directions for reading, all the pages taken by me are of the same kind with this specimen, proceeding, as is the manner of pri-

mers and spelling books, from words of one syllable to words of more, and from polysyllables to sentences of different lengths. I mention this, not to detract from the merits of Mr. Robertson's performance, which is a very good one of the sort, but in order to shew that reputation of authorship could hardly be my motive for the theft. The truth and the whole truth of the transaction is this. About seven years ago, when Sunday-schools were first set up in Carlisle, I was desired to prepare some small tract, which might be put into the hands of the children and the masters. The point aimed at was, to afford as much instruction for as little money as possible. With this view it was necessary to make one part answer the purpose of a spelling book, and the other to contain the elements of religious knowledge. I executed the office of a compiler in the first part, by marking out to the printer some pages of an anonymous spelling book, which had accidentally come into my hands as a present to one of my children. In the second part there is nothing of my own except a piece of four pages, intituled, "a short history of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ." The rest is made up of portions of Scripture, selected by me, chiefly from the gospels, an old tract of Lord Chief Justice Hales, two prayers, two hymns of Dr. Watts,

a piece of Dr. Stonehouse's, taken from the society's tracts, and another of Mr. Gilpin's. These two last named gentlemen have not complained, probably indeed continue ignorant of the injury that has been done to them. Should they come to know it, I am persuaded that, instead of resenting the liberty which I have taken with their pious writings, they will rejoice to find them made, in any shape, or by any hand, useful and accessible to the poor. My name as the *compiler* (for that is the word employed) was placed in the title page, because the bookseller refused to print the book without it; and it is placed there in the manner, so far as I know, commonly adopted by clergymen, for I am conscious of no affectation upon that head.

Such was the birth of the little compilation which has produced this angry attack. A few months after it had been printed, Mr. Faulder, of Bond-street, asked my leave to put forth an edition of it in London. I told him that the first part was taken from a work, which, as I now understood, though I did not know it at the time, had been published by Mr. Robertson, of Marlborough-street; and that he must apply to Mr. Robertson for permission. Mr. Faulder made his application, and was refused; and upon that refusal, by my positive injunction, desisted from

his design. If it has been printed and sold in London, or any where else, except in this neighbourhood, since that time, it is entirely without my participation or knowledge.

Mr. Robertson says, that the collection “*would not have answered my purpose*, or been saleable, without the former part,” what purpose had I to be answered but that which is expressed in the title page, “the use of the Sunday-schools in Carlisle?” I never gained a penny by the publication : so much otherwise, that I paid the publisher his full price for every copy that I gave away. I am at this moment ready to convey to Mr. Robertson, or his assignee, my title, if he think I have any to the work, and all interest in it whatsoever.

Mr. Robertson has not said that the sale of one copy of his book has been hindered by the appearance of mine. From the different quality of the articles I am convinced that no such effect can follow. His is a fair volume, a beautiful type, and a fine paper, adapted in all respects to the use of genteel boarding-schools, and the nurseries of genteel families. Of all the low priced helps to education with which parish children and charity-schools were ever furnished, mine in these particulars is the meanest. The two books, therefore, are calculated for a totally

different description of purchasers. They can never meet in the market ; no person who would buy his book would be content with mine.

This is my defence ; but a part of my story is yet untold. Not long after the little book was published, and as soon as I knew Mr. Robertson's sentiments about it, the substance of what I have here alleged was drawn up by me, in terms as respectful as I could frame them, and, being so drawn up, was communicated to him by a friend to us both. Although I did not believe that I had injured his property, I was truly sorry that I had offended, and that also unknowingly, a gentleman with whom I possessed a slight degree of acquaintance, whose hard fortune, in his profession I have often lamented, and whose literary merits entitle him to regard from every scholar. Mr. Robertson ought not, therefore, to have said, " that I have not condescended to make the least acknowledgment, or offer the least apology, for my plagiarism." I did offer an apology, not indeed in print, which, I doubt not, is what he means, but by a mode of correspondence, which, in my judgment, much better became both the subject and the parties.

And this, Mr. Urban, leads me to express my regret, that there should be one column in the gentle-

man's magazine which hath no employment more worthy of it than to convey to the public, what the public have no concern in, a beggarly dispute about a few pages of a spelling-book, by the stealing of which (for so let it be called) neither the plagiarist hath gained, nor the proprietor lost, a fraction of a farthing.

Yours, &c.

W. PALEY.*

* An anonymous defence of Mr. Paley and two additional letters from Mr. Robertson, appeared in the same volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which it is not thought necessary to republish here.



1110-12 138

ADVERTISEMENT

PREFIXED TO THE SEPARATE PUBLICATION

OF

ARCHDEACON PALEY'S

ESSAY UPON THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

[See Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy.
Book VI. Chap. VII.]

WHAT has passed in Europe, under the immediate observation of this country, during the last four years, hath naturally drawn the thoughts of the reflecting part of the English community to the constitution of their government. The conduct also of some principal writers upon both sides of the question, hath tended to excite, not only the attention, but the passions of the public; and to force the subject upon the thoughts of multitudes; whose minds would, otherwise, have been very little disposed to entertain political speculations. I cannot however persuade myself, that the friends of public tranquillity have any thing to fear. The body of the British people appear to me to be satisfied with their condition; to be intent upon their various employments; and to be tasting the sweets of industry and order in the increased and increasing gains of al-

most every occupation. This state of the country is a strong security for its internal peace. Nevertheless, since these discussions are undoubtedly become very general, it is expedient, that whatever any one has to propose should be proposed in a form fitted for general reading. This reason hath induced me to publish the following apology for the British constitution in a separate pamphlet; as the work, from which it is taken, is hindered by its size and price from finding its way into the hands of many who might receive advantage from the perusal. Some late notices of that work, much too honorable for me to repeat, have procured to it a degree of regard, which will probably obtain readers for this part of it. I trust also that it will be a recommendation of the principles here delivered, that they were not made for the times or the occasion; to serve any purpose or any party; that they were committed to writing ten years ago, and under circumstances, which, if they were known, would exclude all suspicion of insincerity or design. The opinions I then formed were formed upon the best consideration I was able to give to the subject of which I treated. Since the publication of the "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy," I have written nothing, and, to speak the truth, have thought little,

upon political questions ; for, interesting as they may seem to be, or are, my age, and still more my health and profession, have taught me that there are other studies, in comparison with which even these are unimportant.

Carlisle, June 29th, 1792.

W. P.



A CATALOGUE
OF
DR. PALEY'S WORKS,

With the Dates, &c. of their first Publication, and the Number of Editions they had severally passed through during the Author's Life: also a List of the Analysis, and of the Answers which some of them have given rise to, and of the Works to which others refer.

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- 1774 1. A Defence of the Considerations on the Propriety of requiring a Subscription to Articles of Faith, in reply to a late Answer from the Clarendon Press. 8vo. p. 52. London. Wilkie.
- 1776 2. Observations upon the Character and Example of Christ, and an Appendix on the Morality of the Gospel, annexed to Bishop Law's Reflections on the Life and Character of Christ. 8vo. Cambridge. Merrill.
- 1777 3. *Caution recommended in the Use and Application of Scripture Language.* A Sermon preached July 15, 1777, in the Cathedral Church of Carlisle, at the Visitation of the Right Rev. Edmund Lord Bishop of Carlisle. 4to. London. White. rep. in 8vo. Faulder, 1782. p. 19.
- 178— 4. The Clergyman's Companion in visiting the Sick. Small 8vo. 10th Edition. Boards. Faulder,
- 1781 5. *Advice addressed to the Young Clergy of the Diocese of Carlisle,* in a Sermon preached at a General Ordination, holden at Rose Castle, on Sunday, July 29th, 1781. 4to. Faulder, rep. in 8vo. 1783. p. 23.
- 1782 6. *A Distinction of Orders in the Church defended upon Principles of public Utility,* in a Sermon preached

in the Castle-Chapel, Dublin, at the Consecration of John Law, D. D. Lord Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmaedugh, Sept. 21, 1782. 4to. Faulder, p. 16, rep. in 8vo. 1783.

1785 7. *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy.* 4to. Faulder. rep. 2 Vol. 8vo. 15th Edition. Boards.

178-- 8. *The Young Christian instructed in Reading and in the principles of Religion ; compiled for the use of the Sunday Schools in Carlisle.* 16mo. Carlisle. Jollie. 2d Edition. rep. by Faulder.

1790 9. *Horæ Paulinæ, or, the Truth of the Scripture History of St. Paul evinced, by a Comparison of the Epistles which bear his name with the Acts of the Apostles and with one another.* 8vo, 4th Edition. Faulder. Boards.

— 10. *The Use and Propriety of local and occasional preaching : a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Carlisle, in the Year 1790.* 4to. Faulder. p. 31.

1792 11. *An Essay upon the British Constitution, being the VIIth Chapter of the VIth Book of the Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy.* 8vo. Faulder. p. 53.

— 12. *Reasons for Contentment.* addressed to the labouring part of the British Public. Carlisle 12mo. Jollie. rep. 8vo. Faulder. p. 22. 1793.

1794 13. *A short Memoir of the Life of Edmund Law, D. D. Bishop of Carlisle, inserted in Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, and in the Encyclopædia Britannica, and reprinted with Notes, by Anonymus, 1800.* 8vo. p. 18.

— 14. *A View of the Evidences of Christianity.* 3 Vols.

- 12mo. rep. 2 Vols. 8vo. 9th Edition. Faulder. bds.
- 1795 15. *Dangers incidental to the clerical Character stated*, in a Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, at Great St. Mary's Church, on Sunday July 5th, 1795, being Commencement Sunday. 4to. Faulder. p. 23.
- 16. A Sermon preached at the Assizes at Durham, July 29th, 1795, and published at the request of the Lord Bishop, the Honorable the Judges of Assize, and the Grand Jury. 4to. Faulder. p. 20.
- 1802 17. *Natural Theology; or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity collected from the Appearances of Nature.* 8vo. 8th edit. Faulder. bds.
- 1806 18. *Sermons on several Subjects.* Sunderland, printed by Graham, and distributed gratis amongst the Inhabitants of Bishop Wearmouth, in compliance with a Codicil to the Author's Will; and since published by Faulder and Son, and Longman and Co.
- 1808 19. *Sermons and Tracts, containing Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 15, 16.* Faulder and Son.
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- 1795 *Analysis of Paley's Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, by C. V. Le Grice. 8vo. Cambridge. Flower. 5th Edition.
- 1795 *Analysis of Paley's View of the Evidences of Christianity*, by Jeremiah Joyce. 8vo. Cambridge. Flower. 3d Edition.
- 1804 *A full and complete Analysis of Dr. Paley's Natural Theology; or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, collected from the Appearances of Nature*, by Jeremiah Joyce, 8vo. Cambridge. Flower. 2d Edition.
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- 1774 Considerations on the Propriety of requiring a Subscription to Articles of Faith, [by Edmund Lord Bishop of Carlisle.] 8vo. Cambridge. Merrill.
- Jan. 2d Edition enlarged, London, Robson, also 3d Ed. 1779.
- April. An Answer to a Pamphlet, entitled, Considerations on the Propriety of requiring a Subscription to Articles of Faith, [by Thomas Randolph, D. D. Archdeacon of Oxford, &c.] 8vo. from the Clarendon Press. Rivingtons.
- May. 1787 Letters to William Paley, M. A. Archdeacon of Carlisle, on his Objections to a Reform in the Representation of the Commons, and on his Apology for the Influence of the Crown in Parliament. Published originally in the Gentleman's Magazine, and repub. in 8vo. by Johnson. 1796.
- 1789 Principles of Moral Philosophy investigated, and briefly applied to the Constitution of Civil Society : together with remarks on the *Principle* assumed by Mr. Paley as the Basis of all Moral Conclusions, and other positions of the same Author, by Thomas Gisborne, M. A. 8vo. 4th Edition, White.
- 1800 Remarks on the Theory of Morals: in which is contained an examination of the theoretical part of Dr. Paley's Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy. by Edward Pearson, B. D. 8vo. bds. Rivingtons.
- 1801 Annotations on the practical part of Dr. Paley's Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, by Edward Pearson, B. D. 8vo. bds. Rivingtons.